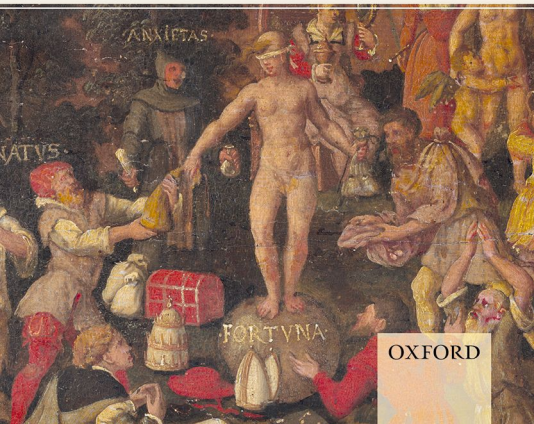




FORTUNA

DANIELE
MIANO

*Deity & Concept in
Archaic & Republican Italy*



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FORTUNA

Fortuna

*Deity and Concept in Archaic
and Republican Italy*

DANIELE MIANO

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لسناء أنصار، سعدي و ثرائي

Preface

*Λίσσομαι, παῖ Ζητὸς Ἐλευθερίου,
Ἰμέραν εὐρυσθενέ' ἀμφιπόλει, σώτειρα Τύχα.*

'I pray to you, daughter of Zeus Eleutherios,
who protect Himera with a broad shield, Fortune the saviour.'

Pindar, *Ol.* 12, 1–2.

With these words Pindar opens the epinician dedicated to Ergoteles of Himera, composed in 465 BC. Ergoteles was—as one would say these days—a migrant and a refugee: he was forced to flee Crete and his native Knossos because he was caught up in a local feud, and ended up in Sicily, where he became an accomplished athlete. Fortune (Tyche) plays an important role in the poem: Ergoteles' loss of his fatherland, his wandering around the world, and his new home and present successes are an illustration of the unpredictability of Tyche, but also of the good treatment she reserved for him.

I wrote down the first words of what would eventually become this book as a postgraduate student in 2010, and I am writing these last words in 2017. In the meantime, I have lived in six different cities and four different countries, for the great majority outside my native Italy—an instability not uncommon in our times, and sadly well known to many Italian academics of my generation. I opened the book with these words because in these long years I have often felt not unlike Ergoteles (except for the athletic success!): driven away from home and tossed about the world by the powers of Fortune, with the strange irony of writing a book about her all the while. I hope that Fortune will appreciate all these years of hard work dedicated to her, and the pages that follow—hopefully, she will be generous to me as she was to Ergoteles.

Not that I have reasons to complain; she has treated me well so far. Living in Manchester, Pisa, and Paris as a PhD student with the generous support of the Scuola Normale Superiore, the University of Manchester, and the Collège de France, in Oxford as a Lecturer for Brasenose and St Anne's Colleges, in Dublin as a Postdoctoral Research Fellow funded by the Irish Research Council and hosted by University College Dublin, and in Sheffield as a Lecturer for the University of

Sheffield has been an incredibly enriching, transformative experience from both a professional and a personal point of view. This also gave me the opportunity to work in the kind of libraries every scholar dreams of: in particular, the library of the Scuola Normale, the Sackler and the Bodleian libraries in Oxford, the library of the École normale supérieure at rue d'Ulm and the bibliothèque Gernet-Glotz in Paris, and the library of the École française de Rome were the places where I did most of the necessary work.

However, the main reason for my gratitude to Fortune is that she sent along my way wonderful teachers, mentors, colleagues, and friends, who have been real *σωτηῆρες* to me. This book is inspired from a long chapter of my PhD thesis, defended at the Scuola Normale Superiore in November 2013, although only two chapters of the work in its present form directly derive from material present in the original thesis. Tim Cornell, the first co-supervisor of the doctoral thesis, was the most wonderful mentor one could imagine, with whom I had from the very beginnings of this project stimulating conversations that defined many of the arguments developed in these pages, and from whom I received support well beyond what is normally expected in academia. Saying that this book would have never existed without him is something that goes beyond the rhetorical tropes of academic politeness. My second co-supervisor, Carmine Ampolo, was no less supportive, and provided me with constructive feedback and wonderful opportunities for research, including a temporary academic home at the former Laboratorio di Scienze dell'Antichità of the Scuola Normale. Fortune arranged for me an equally amazing team of examiners. Andrea Giardina, John North, and Christopher Smith gave to me precious feedback during and after my Viva, and John North was so kind as to read the whole manuscript of the finished book before publication and give me helpful comments. At various stages I had numerous conversations and exchanges about *Fortuna*, deities, and concepts with a number of colleagues and mentors, including Valentina Arena, Nicole Belayche, Ed Bispham, Elisabeth Buchet, Anna Clark, Philip de Souza, Massimiliano Di Fazio, Amber Gartrell, Fay Glinister, Enrico Montanari, Lidka Ozarowska, Robert Parker, Nicholas Purcell, Alexandra Sofroniew, Federico Santangelo, Claudia Santi, John Scheid, Karolina Sekita, John Thornton, and Stéphanie Wyler. I received further feedback from audiences and colleagues in Oxford, Dublin, Athens, Santa Maria Capua Vetere, and Sheffield, where I presented some of the arguments of this book in the form of papers. Last but not

least, the anonymous OUP readers gave me valuable indications that saved me from several shortcomings. My response to these conversations, exchanges, and comments made this book much better than it would otherwise have been.

During my wandering life, Fortune also helped me meet many exceptional friends from all over the world that have little to do with ancient deities, and who provided additional emotional and intellectual support that helped me survive displacement, alongside the help offered by my loud, idiosyncratic, and loving family back in Italy. The greatest manifestation of the powers of Fortune to me, however, occurred in January 2013, when she sent to me my beloved Sanae, to whom this book is dedicated.

Sheffield, April 2017

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Introduction

Word and Concept

Con che rime giammai o con che versi / canterò io del regno di
Fortuna, / e de' suo' casi prosperi e avversi? / E come iniuriosa
ed importuna, / secondo iudicata è qui da noi, / sotto il suo
seggio tutto il mondo aduna?

Niccolò Machiavelli, *Di Fortuna*, 1-6.

*Quod Carneadem Clitomachus scribit dicere solitum, nusquam se
fortunatiorem quam Praeneste vidisse Fortunam.*

Cicero, *De divinatione* 2, 87.

In the early sixteenth century, Niccolò Machiavelli sang of Fortuna as the ruler of the universe, seated in a majestic palace, feared and revered by Jupiter himself. Machiavelli also describes her role in history. The Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Babylonians, the Medes, the Persians, the Macedonians, and finally the Romans all owed the rise and fall of their empires to almighty Fortuna. Caesar, Alexander the Great, Pompey, and Cyrus were all loved by Fortuna at some point, but also ruined by her. Virtue is the only thing which can subjugate her power. To Machiavelli, Fortuna was more than the mere personification of a concept. Attentive readers of Machiavelli have shown that Fortuna is profoundly embedded in Machiavelli's theological thought, to the extent that she seems to be a divine power independent from God, if not a fully-fledged deity.¹

¹ Fortuna and her classical background also play a key role in Machiavelli's political reflection as expressed in *The Prince* and *The Discourses on the First Decade of Livy*. See Skinner 2000, 27-34; Pitkin 1984, esp. 138-72; Buttay-Jutier 2008, 318-20;

The second passage refers to the philosopher Carneades of Cyrene, who visited the sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste in 155 BC.² It contains a quotation taken by Cicero from Clitomachus, a pupil of Carneades. After seeing the impressive temple of Fortuna, Carneades developed the habit of saying that he had never seen a more fortunate Fortune. He was evidently referring to the opulence of the sanctuary.

To Machiavelli, it is chance that rules the world and creates empires, swiftly changing from good luck to bad luck to elevate and ruin individuals, whereas, to Carneades, Fortuna herself had good luck in abundance, as shown by her opulent sanctuary. More than sixteen centuries apart, the different views of Carneades and Machiavelli on Fortuna share some common ground, insofar as they are both based on the connection between the goddess Fortuna and the concept of fortune, chance, good luck. This profound connection between goddess and concept, expressed by the common name, allowed Carneades and Machiavelli to think about the goddess Fortuna and the concept of chance or luck at the same time, attributing distinct meanings to the concept and the goddess, and transferring these meanings between the two. Not only philosophers approached Fortuna in such a way: little more than a decade before Carneades' visit, the Praenestine sanctuary had welcomed Prusias, king of Bithynia, who had performed sacrifices to Fortuna as a thank-offering for the Roman victory over Perseus of Macedon. Fortuna had a long history, and she was one of the most popular goddesses in the peninsula, attracting worshippers from a wide variety of social and ethnic backgrounds. How did all these worshippers envisage Fortuna? Did they approach Fortuna as Carneades and Machiavelli? That is to say, did they attach particular meanings to the concept and to the goddess, and then transfer these meanings between the two?

The aim of this book is to study the ways in which individuals, groups, and communities interacted with Fortuna and ascribed different meanings to her during the Roman Republican period (down to Caesar's death in 44 BC). In doing so, it will also address broader

Viroli 2010, 30–3. When, in 1739, Frederick II of Prussia wrote his treatise refuting Machiavelli (*Anti-Machiavel*), he commented on Machiavelli's Fortuna saying that of all pagan gods, fortune and hazard are the only ones that survived, a sentence omitted by Voltaire when he edited the first published edition in 1740, in order not to stir controversy. See Preuss 1848, 150, 285: 'de tous les dieux du paganisme la fortune et le hazard sont les seuls qui nous sont restés'; Koselleck 2004, 118.

² For full details of the story, see ch.1.

questions about Roman and Greek deities, and about polytheism in general. This introduction will first examine common approaches to Greek and Roman deities in modern scholarship and will explain the methodological approach to be followed throughout the book. It will then set out the criteria that have determined the particular choice of subject matter and briefly survey previous scholarship on Fortuna. Finally, I shall outline the structure of the book.

1.1 DEITIES, FUNCTIONS, MEANINGS

It is not uncommon in modern scholarship on ancient deities to hold functions as ‘factual’ and essential attributes of ancient deities, not unlike their names, temples, or statues. Structuralism has been a very strong influence in the study of ancient religion through the twentieth century, especially in French scholarship. With regard to Roman religion, a functionalist approach was used most extensively by Georges Dumézil from as early as the 1930s, and is the basis of his great work *La religion romaine archaïque* (Paris 1966). Dumézil associated Roman gods and goddesses—and, more controversially, institutions and characters from early Roman history—with a certain set of functions, which he believed derived from a prehistoric, Indo-European past. On the Greek side, Jean-Pierre Vernant developed the argument even further in his *Mythe et pensée chez les Grecs* (Paris 1965), asserting that Greek gods should not be considered divine persons but rather divine powers (*puissances divines*), and that these divine powers existed only in a network of relationships where each element had its own function. Polytheism exhibits strong tensions between unity and multiplicity. On the one hand, there can be multiple Zeuses defined by different epithets or by different cult places, but at the same time these are all in a sense one Zeus. For Vernant the different Zeuses or Aphrodites represented aspects or modes of action of a certain power, e.g. sovereignty or beauty.³

The scholarly subgenre of monographs on individual gods and goddesses, which has been particularly popular in French scholarship, has accompanied the development of structuralism, and to a certain

³ See Vernant 1965, ch.16. See also Detienne 1997 and 1998.

extent had a dialogue with structuralist ideas, especially after the publication of Dumézil's and Vernant's works.⁴ This dialogue, however, could not extend very far in most cases, as a structuralist approach to polytheism seriously undermines the very basis of these scholarly works. If, as Vernant says, gods were not persons but powers which had no independent existence and only made sense in relation to one another, what could be the purpose of putting together all the evidence on a single given deity? Vernant's decision to think of deities in terms of powers deployed in several modes of action, or as functions rather than as personal gods, implied a criticism of the monographic approach to deities, a criticism which was to some extent justified. Some of the monographs on specific deities tended to present an interpretation that was unifying and systematizing: an original aspect of the god or goddess in question would be identified, and evidence that did not fit this aspect would usually be interpreted as the expression of later development or foreign influence (or both), an approach which has been classified as essentialist.⁵ Especially in the field of Roman and Italic religion, the monographic study of deities virtually died out in the 1990s and 2000s, as scholarly attention was directed to other aspects of religion, such as rituals and ceremonies, priesthoods, institutions, and the religious construction of space.⁶

At the same time, however, we might ask if it was fair to drastically restrict deities to such narrowly limited powers. Is Vernant's idea of polytheism as a coherent and well-ordered system an accurate reflection of the variety and internal contradictions one can find in the evidence on any deity? And how are we to accommodate historical change in this static scheme? The study of ancient deities should avoid simply putting all the evidence together and attributing it to an abstract, archetypal, and systematized divine person—inevitably the product of a scholar's mind—as was often the case in the traditional essentialist monographs. On the other hand, it is important not to fall into the equally dangerous reduction of gods and goddesses to static powers and functions.

⁴ Among the many possible examples of these 'divine monographs', see Bayet 1926 (Hercules); Bruhl 1953 (Liber); Schilling 1954 (Venus); Combet-Farnoux 1980 (Mercury); Pouthier 1981 (Ops); and, of course, the two-volume Champeaux 1982–7 (Fortuna), on which see the important critical observations of Scheid 1986.

⁵ Pirenne-Delforge-Pironti 2015.

⁶ See, for example, the scarce attention given to gods in Beard-North-Price 1998.

In recent years the role of gods in ancient religion has been the subject of lively discussion by Hellenists, who have questioned the structuralist paradigm. Henk Versnel and Robert Parker, in particular, have greatly contributed to the question.⁷ According to Versnel, the inconsistency of polytheism did not constitute an issue for the ancient Greeks. Ancient Greeks could switch between several registers when they were thinking of, or interacting with, their deities:

By switching between diverse registers of ordering, for instance (but not only) between the worlds of myth and cult, or between national (Hellenic), local (of the polis), and personal or group-religiosity (e.g. in henotheistic forms of religion), they managed to elude the chaotic potential of the Greek pantheon. For them the idea that there is one Zeus with many different epithets (predicates, functions, localities) was no less valid than the idea that there are many different Zeuses varying according to myth, cult, place.⁸

Embracing the chaotic potential of ancient deities implies the recognition that the well-ordered, static, and reductionist approach of structuralism to ancient deities is very problematic. Two different worshippers, or even the same individual in different contexts, could at the same time attach different meanings to the same deity. Moreover, deities could be divided into many different divine personae marked by different shrines, epithets, or attributes. Vinciane Pirenne-Delforge and Gabriella Pironti, in a series of co-authored works, have attempted to make the structuralist paradigm more dynamic by introducing the concept of ‘network’: as theorized by Vernant, a god is a divine power, but its position with regard to other divine powers can considerably change from place to place. There are, however, common structural elements that are occasionally not directly attested, but that must be nevertheless considered to make sense of polytheism, e.g. some evidence on Hera makes sense only considering her relationship with Zeus, even if in specific instances such a relationship is not directly attested.⁹

Scholars of the ancient Near East have also elaborated new models for understanding deities and polytheism, although in their research they tend to focus mainly on the question of the emergence of

⁷ Parker 2011, 64–102; Versnel 2011.

⁸ Versnel 2011, 7.

⁹ Pirenne-Delforge-Pironti 2009, 2010, and 2015.

monotheism.¹⁰ Particularly useful is the application of translatability and translation to the interactions of deities from different linguistic areas, first elaborated by Jan Assmann.¹¹ To Assmann, gods and goddesses from different linguistic areas and cultures who are identified with one another, like Zeus and Jupiter, must be explained as translations of each other, based on one or more common attributes shared by both.¹² At the root of this idea lies the notion that polytheism works like a semantic system, in which each deity occupies a certain place or function.

In her monograph on Divine Qualities, dedicated specifically to what are here called conceptual deities, Anna Clark has greatly advanced our understanding of this group of gods and goddesses, underlining in particular how important they were in communicating and in constructing individual and group identities in Republican Rome. She stresses that identity is the product of a historical process, and that a society is not a monolith, but is composed of numerous individuals and groups of individuals, with complex internal dynamics.¹³ The cults of Divine Qualities, as she calls them, are an excellent tool for understanding the process of identity-making, which involved a great number of people who were continuously negotiating and redefining these qualities.¹⁴

But the most important part of Clark's vision is that Divine Qualities exist in both the linguistic and the religious sphere.¹⁵ Clark underlines the fact that divine qualities had temples, priests, and festivals, and that because of these various cultic instruments, which she calls resources, the deities in question were part of the everyday life of the community. They are a part of what she calls a 'cognitive vocabulary':

The qualities that received cult are situated in the overlap between the two contexts or spheres delineated above, religious and discursive. They form a cognitive vocabulary: they are (and they are also more than) nouns, names, words, a lexicon—elements of language whose referents and meanings, like those of any vocabulary, are not simply imposed as part of an elite hegemony and accepted by the 'spontaneous consent' of

¹⁰ Smith 2008; Assmann 2008; for a recent work whose focus is rather polytheism, see Allen 2015.

¹¹ Assmann 1996.

¹² Bettini 2016 formulated objections to this model.

¹³ Clark 2007, 1–8.

¹⁴ Clark 2007, 8–13.

¹⁵ Clark 2007, 15.

subordinate groups, but operate by being aired, used, and contested by and in the presence of such groups.¹⁶

As I shall discuss presently, it is this important point—the extra-textual element of deities—which allows us to overcome the challenge of the scarcity of contemporary texts to the history of conceptual gods and goddesses. I am less convinced of Clark’s point that once a deity was object of cult, there was no distinction between concept and deity (something that she renders by using small capital letters for names of conceptual deities). The fact that Virtues, or Qualities, are in the overlap between the religious and the discursive implies that there can be boundaries—albeit fluid and negotiable in communication—between the two. Determining if there is a boundary between concept and deity, and where the boundary lies, is an element of the attribution of meanings a speaker provides when he or she performs a certain speech act. This also allows us to distinguish conceptual deities from the rhetorical figure of personification of ideas and places, a phenomenon that concerns rhetoric, literature, and representation.¹⁷

This book is deeply indebted to the reflections on polytheism and gods elaborated by the scholars mentioned above. However, the methodology I shall follow rests on a new idea in the study of ancient gods, namely the connection between gods and concepts, something I have previously attempted on a smaller scale.¹⁸ This approach is justified by the fact that Fortuna, like the other so-called Virtues or Qualities (Salus, Victoria, Ops, Fides, etc.) shares her name with a concept, and this makes the connection between deity and concept particularly clear, to the extent that these deities can appropriately be called conceptual deities—although it can be argued that such a connection exists also for other gods.¹⁹ What is meant by concept? Koselleck argues that concepts ‘possess a substantial claim to generality and always have many meanings—in historical science, occasionally in modalities other than words’.²⁰ There is a relationship between concepts and words: ‘a word becomes a concept only when

¹⁶ Clark 2007, 16.

¹⁷ As in Fears 1981. Belayche 2003 gives an exemplary demonstration of this with Tyche in Roman Palestine.

¹⁸ Miano 2015a; Miano 2015b.

¹⁹ On the category, other than Clark 2007, see Stafford 2001. The rather frequent metonymic use of divine names (e.g. Liber to signify wine) points to an equally strong connection with concepts even for gods who do not have the name of a concept.

²⁰ Koselleck 2004, 84–5.

the entirety of meaning and experience within a sociopolitical context within which and for which a word is used can be condensed into one word.²¹ A concept can and indeed *must* have several meanings. A concept can also be expressed by more than one noun, but in our case the identification between deity and concept makes the name of Fortuna stable.²² Meanings are far from being static and fixed: meanings can be added to a concept, questioned, redefined by individuals and groups, creating the potential for inconsistency which is indeed necessary to semantic change. Even though individuals and groups are involved in the definition of a concept, the concept transcends these individuals and groups, as it reflects the entirety of meaning and experience of a certain sociopolitical context. According to Koselleck, change mainly occurs through a process of semantic struggle, of which we can find many examples in Roman history. For example, in one of the most dramatic moments of late Republican history, the consul L. Opimius ordered his men to kill C. Gracchus and his partisans in 121 BC, and afterwards built a temple of Concordia. Plutarch informs us that in the night an unknown hand wrote on the temple ἔργον ἀπονοίας ναὸν ὁμονοίας ποιεῖν, which could be rendered in Latin as *opus discordiae aedem Concordiae fecit*, ‘a deed of discord made a temple of concord.’²³ It is clear that, between the supporters and sympathizers of C. Gracchus and the supporters of L. Opimius, there was a semantic struggle going on, a struggle between proponents of different and conflicting political meanings of the concept of *concordia*. Whereas the partisans of Opimius could argue that killing a tyrant was an act of concord, the followers of the Gracchi argued that a fair sharing of wealth and power between social groups was an expression of concord. In the case of Concordia, Fortuna, and other conceptual deities, the different meanings attached to the concepts to a certain extent can correspond to the different epithets of the goddess, such as Fortuna Equestris and Fortuna Publica. If we compare functions or ‘modes of action’ with concepts, we can see that concepts provide a satisfactory model for the lack of consistency, and for the overabundant multiplicity of polytheism much more effectively than functions do. Different, potentially conflicting meanings can be attributed to concepts and the associated deities, and this can represent a way to understand historical change

²¹ Koselleck 2004, 85.

²² Richter 1995, 9.

²³ Plut., *Gracch.* 38, 9; on the events, see also App., *Bell. Civ.* 1, 26.

impossible with traditional structuralist approaches to ancient deities, which normally tend to present static reconstructions.

Quentin Skinner has provided, by contrast, a different way of looking at conceptual change, based on rhetoric—in particular, on the rhetorical technique called by Quintilian *παραδιαστολή*.²⁴ It consists in reframing a vice as a virtue, and vice versa. If, for example, the circumstances have shown his client to be stingy, a good advocate can reframe them in order to show that he was rather frugal. Similarly, negligence can be presented as simplicity of mind, and prodigality as liberality. Rhetorically applying the same concept to different circumstances can be considered one of the ways in which conceptual change is achieved, and can be seen as a strategy for semantic struggle.

The conceptual approach I advocate works very well also with Assmann's view of analysing gods from different linguistic areas in terms of translatability and translation. The translatability of two deities would be based on one or more meanings shared by the corresponding concepts from different cultures and linguistic areas. Recent work on ancient Italy and beyond has proved how the interaction of languages can provide a very effective model for the interaction of cultures and religion which can replace top-down, hierarchical models such as Hellenization and Romanization.²⁵ Koselleck also underlined the importance of translation for conceptual history: it is clear that concepts from different linguistic areas depend on each other, especially in circumstances in which bilingualism was rather common, as it was the case for ancient Italy.²⁶ A conceptual study of Fortuna, therefore, allows us to appreciate cultural and religious change, and interactions across ancient Italy and the Mediterranean.

Concepts are not meant to replace structures. On the contrary, concepts frequently have different meanings if they are related to other concepts—meanings cannot be studied in isolation. To cite an example formulated by Richter, “despotism” means one thing when its opposite is thought to be “liberty”; another thing, when “despotism”

²⁴ Skinner 1999. Cf. Quint. 4, 2, 75–7. Also Skinner 2002, I, 175–87.

²⁵ Wallace-Hadrill 2008 and also Clark 2007. See also the criticism in Osborne 2012, and, in general, Mullen-James 2012 and Bettini 2016.

²⁶ Koselleck 1996, 67–8. See also Leonhard 2012 for an essay on the translation of the French expression *idées libérales* in other European languages in the early nineteenth century. This essay also shows the usefulness of a quantitative analysis of translations—which, unfortunately, in our case cannot be done for lack of evidence.

is contrasted to “anarchy”.²⁷ A strategy for attaching new meanings to a god or goddess is precisely presenting this deity in conjunction or in opposition with others. Likewise, if ‘fortune’ is associated with ‘recklessness’ or with ‘hope’ it assumes radically different meanings. But if ‘powers’ or ‘functions’ are static, concepts can be rediscussed continuously and receive new meanings in different contexts, especially in times of crisis, when different groups fight over the meaning of a concept.

An important precursor to a conceptual approach to polytheism was the great philologist and historian of religion Hermann Usener, and his important book *Götternamen: Versuch einer Lehre von der Religiösen Begriffsbildung* (Bonn 1896). The very first paragraph of the book, significantly entitled ‘word and concept’ (Wort und Begriff), outlines a theory of relationship between concepts, words, and names of gods. Usener believed that all names, and divine names in particular, are a collectively accepted aspect of the description of a thing or a concept.²⁸ In other words, the aspect that most excited the spirit of the people experiencing the phenomenon was elected as representative of the whole concept. Usener believed that a formal study of language allowed one to reconstruct the formation of the concepts, and postulated an evolutionary process, in which momentary gods (Augenblicksgötter) would be created by direct experiences and impressions, and these would in turn become functional gods (Sondergötter), and eventually fully-fledged personal gods. This connection between momentary experiences, actions, and deities has been particularly productive, and is still valid today to a certain extent, in order to study gods taking their names from limited, frequently ritualized actions, like some of those known from antiquarian lists or certain epigraphic texts.²⁹ The approach proposed in this book is different not only because the book does not share Usener’s evolutionary approach, but also because Usener believed that the history of language is identical with the history of concepts. I believe that the two must be firmly separated: concepts tend to change much more rapidly than linguistic forms, and etymologies of divine names are not necessarily related to the concepts connected with gods or goddesses. This approach has little to do with the recent monograph advocating a

²⁷ Richter 1995, 9.

²⁸ Usener 1896, 3–5.

²⁹ Recent discussion of the usefulness of Usener are Perfigli 2004, 197–207 and Scheid-Svenbro 2005. Important discussion in Scheid 2011², 58–83, who reconciles Usener with a structuralist approach, and in Dumézil 1974², 49–62.

conceptual approach to Roman gods written by Michael Lipka, which is based on a definition of concepts very different from the one adopted in this book.³⁰ The approach of this book is indebted to recent work by Jörg Rüpke focused on the importance of experiences and concepts to ancient religions.³¹ I am inclined to associate the creation of meanings to definite historical experiences, and to see historical and social change in a way which values the importance of conflict, characterized by Rüpke in terms of appropriation.

There are two separate ways in which conceptual history can enrich the study of polytheism. There is, to begin with, a micro level which concerns the analysis of specific documents and written sources in terms of concepts. It has to be expected that this level will be of important but limited use in this book. This is mostly because of the nature of the evidence on Fortuna in ancient Italy. For most of the Republican period the historian has very little to work with in terms of contemporary evidence, which is mostly limited to sparse, and frequently formulaic inscriptions, for which the appreciation of specific meanings is often difficult. Moreover, one must work with sources that are much later than the period under analysis, such as Livy, Plutarch, or even early Christian writers such as Arnobius or Augustine. In these cases it will be essential to exploit the fact that conceptual deities are more than words and are connected to very concrete resources such as temples, festivals, and others outlined by Anna Clark. Contextual information such as the topographical location and the identity of an individual offering a gift to the goddess can give precious hints about the meanings of a given utterance of Fortuna, and in these cases traditional methods of ancient history and history of religions will be invaluable. This situation of scarcity of evidence changes for the first century BC, when we are lucky enough to have a relative wealth of complex literary documents, such as Cicero's or Caesar's writings, that allow a much greater appreciation of the details and nuances of the semantics of fortune.

Conceptual history, however, can also help understanding polytheism at a macro level, in the sense that it can help give a meaningful account of the multiplicity and variety of ancient gods and goddesses but, unlike traditional structuralism, is not bound to schematic boundaries between divine powers. As concepts, deities can have as

³⁰ Lipka 2009.

³¹ Rüpke 2011 and 2016.

many meanings as individual and collective agents are ready to attribute to them, and long-term continuities and sudden semantic changes can be studied through the association between concepts and deities. Contradictions and inconsistencies are necessary for the continuing significance of the deities: without contradictions, no significant semantic change is possible, and without change a deity becomes sooner or later irrelevant because he or she is unable to reflect the contemporary social or political concerns of the agents.

The conceptual approach to ancient deities I have outlined so far could not be tested on a better subject than the goddess Fortuna. In terms of sheer quantity of temples, shrines, places of worship, and epithets, Fortuna is by far the most popular conceptual goddess, and it is fair to say that she was one of the main deities worshipped in ancient Italy during the Republican period and beyond. In the city of Rome alone, the many temples of Fortuna and the exceptional variety of the epithets attributed to her have puzzled and bewildered modern scholars, who over the past 150 years have produced a wide range of interpretations and more or less reasonable reconstructions, in an effort to cope with the inconsistency and variety of the evidence. Fortuna has been routinely associated with good luck or a more neutral concept of chance,³² agriculture,³³ fertility,³⁴ rites of passage,³⁵ womanhood,³⁶ and a combination of these things, which are normally considered stratified in several ways. Fortuna has also been considered a Mediterranean mother goddess³⁷ (whatever that means), the divine equivalent of Queen Tanaquil (or the other way around),³⁸ and a protective spirit.³⁹ In terms of origins, she has been

³² This is, for obvious reasons, the main focus of scholarship, and modern scholars have provided different reconstructions of the relation between good luck and chance—since Preller, most scholars have thought that Fortuna was originally a purely benevolent goddess and took a more neutral role of goddess of chance under the influence of Tyche; Preller 1858, 552. He uses the expressions *positive Glücksgöttin* and *indifferentes Geschick*; Warde Fowler 1899, 161–72; Axtell 1907, 9; Otto 1910; Kajanto 1981, 505; Arya 2002 (a nice exception to the Preller paradigm, although his Fortuna tends to be undistinguishable from Tyche).

³³ Marquardt 1885², 578 (referred to as *Fors Fortuna*).

³⁴ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 423–9.

³⁵ Gagé 1963, 24–100, and Gagé 1958.

³⁶ Wissowa 1912², 256–68; Boëls-Janssen 1993, 338.

³⁷ Brelich 2010³, 52–3; Champeaux 1982–7, I, 471–2.

³⁸ For this interpretation, see ch.3.

³⁹ Otto 1910, 13; Kajanto 1981, 510.

considered Etruscan,⁴⁰ Greek,⁴¹ Latin,⁴² Indo-European,⁴³ and Phoenician.⁴⁴ Some of these hypotheses are rather surprising, considering that, as we shall discuss below, the diffusion of her cult broadly follows the diffusion of the Latin language in Italy. This brief list is just an indication of the variety of possible interpretations that have been advanced, in various combinations, by modern scholars. The multiplicity of Fortuna seems to have given rise to an even more impressive multiplicity of concurrent, and broadly systematizing, interpretations in modern scholarship. There have been attempts to write a conceptual history of fortune. Koselleck himself wrote a brilliant essay on chance in historical writing, although mostly concentrated on the eighteenth century, and limited in scope to the question of chance and causality in historiography.⁴⁵ Peter Vogt has recently produced an ambitious conceptual history of contingency and chance from antiquity to modernity, with several chapters dedicated to Fortuna and Tyche—however, the mostly philosophical focus of this work and the selective use of ancient sources have made it a resource of little use to me.⁴⁶

The geographical and chronological scope of the book is Italy from the archaic age to the late Republic. In this period Italy was a fragmented, multicultural and multilingual environment, characterized by a wide circulation of people, customs, and ideas, in which Rome played an increasingly dominant role. I shall use all available sources on Fortuna: literary, epigraphic, iconographic, and archaeological. My contention is that a study based on conceptual analysis will serve to construct a radically new picture of the historical development of this major deity.

I.2 AN OUTLINE OF THE WORK

As this book is not concerned with the city of Rome only, but with Italy as a whole, and with the even broader connection between

⁴⁰ Warde Fowler 1899, 171–2; Otto 1910, 14–16; Kajanto 1981, 506–9.

⁴¹ Altheim 1931, 38–46; Arya 2002.

⁴² Wissowa 1912², 256–68; Latte 1960, 176.

⁴³ Dumézil 1943, esp. 176–87; Dumézil 1956, 71–98; De Martino 2015.

⁴⁴ Verzár 1980; Coarelli 1981; Coarelli 1988; Grottanelli 1987.

⁴⁵ Koselleck 2004, 115–27. ⁴⁶ Vogt 2011.

Fortuna and her Greek counterpart Tyche across the Mediterranean, I have chosen to follow an arrangement which is partly geographical and, within geographical boundaries, chronological. I am aware that to some readers such an arrangement may look excessively fragmented, but it is precisely for this reason that I have chosen to follow it. As this book attempts to embrace what Versnel called the 'chaotic potential' of ancient deities, starting with the assumption that even at a local level there could be widely different meanings under the name of Fortuna, a geographical arrangement seemed an appropriate choice.

The first two chapters are focused on Italy. We begin, therefore, with Praeneste, the City of Fortuna (chapter 1). This was an obvious choice. At Praeneste, the worship of Fortuna was so well entrenched that from this city alone we have more epigraphic evidence for it than from the rest of Italy put together, including Rome. The temple of Fortuna Primigenia attracted Roman consuls, Hellenistic kings, and foreign diplomats, as well as a mass of common people, including many small-time professionals, freedmen, and slaves. From Praeneste we also have the earliest pieces of direct epigraphic and iconographic evidence, dating from the early fourth century BC. Praeneste also provides variety of meanings surrounding Fortuna, including connections with war, salvation, good luck and welfare, oracles, and motherhood. The second chapter, *Fortunae in Italy*, examines the evidence across the peninsula. Once again there is a huge variety of local *Fortunae*, but the wider picture also illustrates the diffusion of the goddess in Italy, which seems to be intimately connected with the diffusion of the Latin language. The main challenge of this chapter will be the extremely fragmentary nature of most of our evidence, which for many places is limited to a single inscription, or to a cursory reference in a literary source. For this reason the broader Italian picture can only be analysed in comparative terms.

Chapters 3 to 5 focus on the city of Rome. Chapter 3 concerns Fortuna in archaic Rome, concentrating on the historiographical evidence for temple foundations in the regal period, and in particular that connecting the goddess with King Servius Tullius. It will also examine some of the modern theories connecting archaic Fortuna with Queen Tanaquil and rites of passage. Finally, it will consider the temples of Fortuna that are said to have been founded in the archaic period, dealing critically with the question of dating, and the meanings that were attached to these archaic Roman *Fortunae*. The main challenge here will be to determine the meanings attached to Fortuna

on the basis of literary evidence dating from a much later period. Chapter 4, *Fortuna and the Republic*, will move to more solid ground, analysing the Republican *Fortunae* to whom official temples were dedicated between the third and second centuries BC, most of them victory temples after battles. It will discuss the wide variety of meanings attached to *Fortuna* by individual Roman leaders, but also the fact that all these temple foundations exhibit strongly recurrent characteristics. Chapter 5, *To Each His Own*, will look more closely at the ways in which groups and individuals attributed meanings to *Fortuna* in Republican Rome. The first section will discuss *Fortunae* with epithets linked to gender and age groups, and will question the theory of a connection between *Fortuna*, rites of passage, and sexual fertility. The second section will consider the relationship between *Fortuna* and charismatic individuals in the late Republic, from Sulla to Caesar.

The two final chapters will be dedicated to essential questions on *Fortuna*. Chapter 6, *Fortuna in Translation and Fortuna as Translation*, will discuss the relationship between *Fortuna* and *Tyche*, how it was established, what was the basis for it, and what were the consequences of this relationship of translatability. The model of translation formulated by Assmann (discussed above) will help avoid the methodological trap of looking at the relationship between *Fortuna* and *Tyche* in terms of the Hellenization of the former by the latter. The discussion will search for common meanings used to determine the translatability of the two conceptual deities. I shall also discuss the evidence suggesting that *Tyche* might have been used as a translation of *Fortuna* rather than the other way round. Chapter 7, *A Godless Goddess*, will be dedicated to the negative meanings attached to *Fortuna*. Although the evidence on the negative meanings of *Fortuna* is much less abundant than that for her benevolent meanings, this is a particularly important issue to discuss, because it allowed the construction of arguments in favour of the denial of the divinity of *Fortuna*, testing the fluid boundaries between concept and goddess. At the same time, any such argument was obviously based on the strong connection between concept and divinity, and it represented yet another attribution of meaning to the conceptual goddess. Finally, in the conclusions I shall attempt to recognize broader trends, to further develop the arguments, and reflect on the advantages and the limits of the proposed method.

The City of Fortuna

The spectacular remains of the temple of Fortuna at Praeneste (Fig. 1.1) are among the most impressive monuments of ancient Latium, and constitute the best-known and most admired example of Italian architecture in the late Republic.¹ From Praeneste alone we have more epigraphic evidence concerning Fortuna than from the rest of Republican Italy, including Rome, put together. Some of this evidence is as old as the fourth century BC, preceding the monumental temple by more than two centuries. We know of many individuals who associated themselves with Fortuna at Praeneste: locals of every rank and background, Roman aristocrats, Hellenistic kings, and philosophers. For this reason the study of Fortuna at Praeneste can illustrate the multiplicity of meanings that surround the goddess. In this chapter I shall demonstrate that different individuals and groups attached different meanings to her. In modern historiography, this diversity has been explained away as the result of stratification (an original Praenestine Fortuna, eventually becoming 'Hellenized'), or as arising from a political contrast with Rome, or from theological paradoxes. Here I shall argue that the multifarious character of Fortuna at Praeneste rather implies that she was concurrently different things to the people who worshipped her.

This chapter will be divided into two parts. In the first, I shall outline the evidence on Fortuna at Praeneste in chronological order. In the second I shall deal with the problems of interpretation most commonly associated with this evidence. The reason why I have chosen this structure is that in the interpretation of the evidence on Fortuna at Praeneste in modern scholarship, an abnormally important

¹ For the phenomenon of monumental building in Italy, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 103–16; Gabba 1972.



Fig. 1.1. Facade of the Colonna-Barberini palace, formerly main temple building of Fortuna Primigenia, Palestrina.

Photograph by the author. © Polo Museale del Lazio—Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina e Santuario della Fortuna Primigenia, su concessione del Mibact.

place has been given to a small number of documents—in particular, a passage of Cicero—whereas I believe it is essential to give full consideration to all pieces of evidence to appreciate the different meanings attributed to the goddess.

1.1 ONE NAME, MANY CONTEXTS

Long before the temple we see today was built, Fortuna was already a well-established goddess at Praeneste attracting a wide range of worshippers, as we can see from a number of inscribed artefacts. The earliest piece of evidence is an engraved mirror found at Colombella, the main necropolis of the city (Fig. 1.2).² Although there is no consensus on this matter, the mirror is usually dated firmly in the

² CSE Italia 6, 89, CIL 1² 2498.



Fig. 1.2. Reproduction of an engraved mirror from the Colomabella necropolis at Palestrina.

From Matthies 1912.

fourth century BC, probably in the first half.³ It is decorated with a scene showing four figures, each identified with an inscription. In the foreground Fortuna embraces Minerva, seemingly leaning over her with her legs crossed, while in the background a chariot drawn by monsters carries a male figure, labelled 'Hiaco', being crowned by Victoria. Hiaco has been taken to be a Latin version of Iacchus, and the scene to represent his triumph.⁴ Similar representations of Dionysus riding in a chariot drawn by monstrous animals, can be seen on two pots dating from the first half of the fourth century BC.⁵ Fortuna appears on this mirror as a female figure without any distinguishing characteristics. She seems to be supervising the triumph of

³ See the discussion in CSE Italia 6, 89, and Franchi De Bellis 2005, 111. Also Matthies 1912, 54; Pairault Massa 1992, 62–3; Menichetti 1996, 86–7.

⁴ Franchi De Bellis 2005, 111–14.

⁵ Gasparri 1986, n. 461–2.

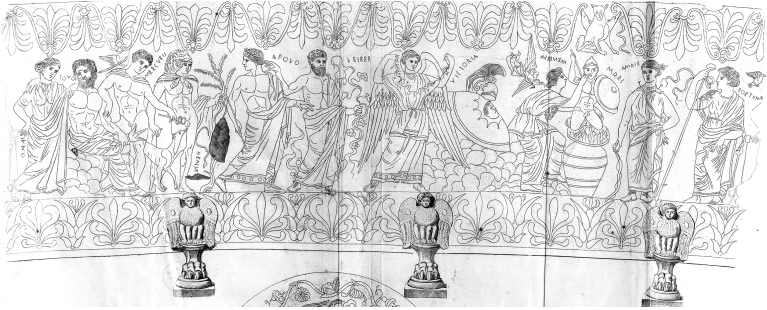


Fig. 1.3. Reproduction of an engraved *cista* from the Colombella necropolis at Palestrina.

From *Monumenti dell'Istituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 9 (1873).

Hiaco together with Minerva, and the whole scene has a peculiar ceremonial feel, like a triumphal procession transposed in a mythical context. Triumphs of gods are a recurring feature on Praenestine mirrors, and are attested for Hercules and for a character resembling Dionysus, whom it would be tempting to identify with Hiaco.⁶ In this early piece of evidence, one can see how Fortuna is already a very complex divine figure. The triumphal scene points at meanings associated with military valour and victory.

Fortuna is represented in a similarly complex way on a Praenestine *cista* (a bronze container or box), representing a meeting of gods in front of Minerva and Mars (Fig. 1.3).⁷ The gods, all identified by inscriptions, are (from left to right) Juno, Jupiter, Mercury, Hercules, Apollo, Liber, Victoria, Minerva, Mars, Diana, and Fortuna. Minerva seems to be feeding, or covering the mouth of, a diminutive but adult Mars, who is represented above an amphora; next to them is a smaller Victoria wearing a crown. Countless interpretations of this bizarre gesture have been proposed, none of them particularly convincing.⁸ Most recently, Menichetti has suggested that this scene, as well as the one on the mirror, might represent a sort of mythical transposition of *rites de passage* of young men into adulthood. Although this is more persuasive than other hypotheses, there is of course no probative element for this reading. Fortuna has no distinctive characteristics,

⁶ CSE Italia 6, 83a. Menichetti 1996, 87.

⁷ Bordenache Battaglia 1979, no. 5; Champeaux 1982–7, I, 142–6; Pairault Massa 1992, 163–4; Menichetti 1996, 80–95; Franchi De Bellis 2005, 143–7; Wiseman 2008, 86.

⁸ See Bordenache Battaglia 1979, 52–4.

but she is holding a thyrsus, leaning on it with her left foot partially lifted from the ground. The *cista* cannot be precisely dated. As the archaeological context of most of these items is unknown, it is not possible to establish a chronology, but it is generally believed that they should be dated in the decades before and after 300 BC. Fortuna is leaning, as on the mirror just discussed—and one wonders whether or not this might have been a characteristic of the cultic statue. In later literary evidence Fortuna is occasionally represented as standing in precarious balance on a spherical boulder to represent her instability, and the leaning might have had a similar significance.⁹ Of the group of four female deities surrounding Mars in the *cista*, Fortuna, Minerva, and Victoria appear also on the mirror discussed above. Moreover, just above Minerva there is a smaller Victoria flying with a crown. Although the scene is much more complex than that in the mirror, there seem to be, in conclusion, certain similarities that point at a similar association with military victory.

Although Champeaux proposed that a number of terracotta statuettes of women with babies should be considered representations of Fortuna, there is no real reason to believe this.¹⁰ The mirror and the *cista* are, therefore, the earliest certain representations of the goddess. It is significant that, although the interpretation of the engraved scenes is far from clear, they are likely to be explained by reference to local myths or ceremonies. If so, the cult of Fortuna must have been well established at Praeneste. She was also important enough to the Praenestines that they were happy to have her represented on luxury items, and to be buried with them. War and military victory seem to be important elements of these representations, and must have been part of the semantics of Fortuna from this early period.

Moving from the necropolis to the city, we have a number of documents providing us with an even more complex picture of Fortuna at Praeneste. The first is an inscription on a bronze tablet, dated on palaeographic and linguistic grounds to the third century BC, and definitely from Praeneste, although the context of the find is unknown.¹¹ The inscribed text says: 'I, Orcevia, wife of Numerius, for the blessing of childbirth, offered (this) as a gift to Fortuna

⁹ See ch.7.

¹⁰ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 41–7. Rausa 1997 subsequently incorporated these statues into the LIMC as images of Fortuna, nos. 1–3. See also Riemann 1987, 1988.

¹¹ The tablet was bought at Rome by the collector August Dutuit, and was later given to the Museum of the Petit Palais. See Mowat 1884.

Primigenia, daughter of Jupiter.¹² The tablet has nail-holes for attaching it to the gift offered to the goddess. A significant feature of this inscription is that Fortuna Primigenia (the epithet appears here for the first time) is clearly said to be the daughter of Jupiter, and such genealogical information is not normally given about gods in Latin inscriptions. Later inscriptions also hail Fortuna as daughter of Jupiter, and this must be considered an important characteristic of Fortuna Primigenia.¹³ In what sense was she thought to be the daughter of Jupiter? This question is irrevocably connected with another: what does the epithet Primigenia mean? There is still no consensus about this in modern scholarship. Several scholars have argued that *primigenia* must mean 'primordial'. According to some modern scholars, in that case the formula 'Fortuna Primigenia, daughter of Jupiter' would imply a theological paradox: if Fortuna is 'primordial', then she must have come into existence before Jupiter, but, at the same time, she is his daughter.¹⁴ For other scholars, however, *primigenia* linked to *fileia* must be explained in a different way, namely that it means the first-born daughter of Jupiter.¹⁵ Both interpretations are possible: Champeaux demonstrated that in many cases *primigenia* can mean 'primordial', but in others she could not rule out an interpretation of the word as 'first-born'.¹⁶ A recently published inscription from Praeneste seems to support the latter interpretation. In this text the goddess is called *dearum prima propago*, which the editor translated as 'of all goddesses, the first-born'.¹⁷ Given the uncertainty of the evidence, it seems to me unwise to exclude either of the two hypotheses. I shall return to the genealogy of Fortuna after discussing other pieces of evidence.

Important evidence on Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste in the third century BC comes from a passage of Valerius Maximus describing a

¹² CIL 1² 60 = ILLRP 101. I follow the text of Franchi De Bellis 2014, 113: *orcevia numeri[/nationu· cratia/fortuna· diovo· fileia/primogenia/donom· dedi*.

¹³ CIL 1² 2863, 3051, CIL 14 2862, 2868, AE 2007, 314. CIL 1² 3071 might have mentioned the genealogical relationship between Fortuna and Jupiter as well.

¹⁴ Translating Primigenia as 'primordial' has been adopted, among the others, by Brelich 2010³, 45–59; Dumézil 1956, 71–98; Champeaux 1982–7, I, 24–40.

¹⁵ This was the position of Jordan 1885, 3–13; recently revived by Hernández Pérez 2011.

¹⁶ Champeaux 1975. I was not convinced by the sections 917–18; 924–6; 937–9.

¹⁷ Gamberale 1990. Also Hernández Pérez 2011, 93: 'de las diosas, la primera que nació'. For an opposite interpretation based on reconstructive etymology, which I find less convincing, see De Martino 2015, 75–7.

misadventure of Q. Lutatius Cerco, the consul of 241 BC. Unfortunately, the anecdote is not preserved in the transmitted text of Valerius Maximus, and must be reconstructed from the epitomes of Julius Paris and Januarius Nepotianus. The epitomators say (1, 3, 2):

Julius Paris: *Lutatius Cerco, qui primum Punicum bellum confecit, a senatu prohibitus est sortes Fortunae Praenestinae adire: auspiciis enim patriis, non alienigenis rem publicam administrari iudicabant oportere.*

Lutatius Cerco, who ended the First Punic War, was prevented by the senate from consulting the lots of Praenestine Fortune: for they considered that the state should be administered by ancestral and not foreign auspices.

Ianuarius Nepotianus: *Lutatium Cerconem, confectorem primi Punici belli, fama extitit uelle ad Praenestinam Fortunam sortes mittere siue colligere. hoc cognito senatus inhiuit extraria responsa consultorum disquiri. iussum legatis est aedilibusque in haec missis ut si consulisset, ad supplicium Romam reduceretur. denique adeo profuit factum, ut ex incerta ei Romana auspicia fuerint: nam ab altaribus patriis profectus Egadas opulentissimas insulas in conspectu Carthaginis populatus est.*

There is a rumour that Lutatius Cerco, who ended the First Punic War, wanted to send to Praenestine Fortune to collect lots. Discovering this, the senate prevented responses to those who made consultation being sought from outside. Envoys and the aediles who were sent for this purpose were ordered that, if he had consulted the oracle, he was to be brought to Rome for punishment. In the end this measure was so successful that thereafter his Roman auspices became 'assured': for having set out from the altars of his country he ravaged the very wealthy Aegates Islands in full view of Carthage.¹⁸

The epitomes of Julius Paris and Januarius Nepotianus are quite different from one another. When we can read both their epitomes and the original text, it is clear that Julius Paris tends to give a bare summary of Valerius Maximus, quite close to the original in terms of content and vocabulary. Nepotianus, on the other hand, tends to be more eccentric in his summaries, occasionally adding material of his own, and even changing the moral proposed by the original.¹⁹ Thus, if we look at the information provided by Julius Paris, we can see that Q. Lutatius Cerco was forbidden by the senate to consult the lots of Fortuna Primigenia on a matter of state, for which foreign *auspicia*

¹⁸ I used both text and (edited) translation by Wardle 2005.

¹⁹ Wardle 2005, 380–1.

ought not to be consulted. Nepotianus' epitome presents several dubious points. The first is the senate's unlikely threat to have the consul arrested by the aediles. The second is the clear confusion between Q. Lutatius Cerco and his brother C. Lutatius Catulus, the winner of the battle of the Aegates Islands. It is clear, moreover, that Nepotianus builds the anecdote on the contrast between the lots of Fortuna Praenestina on the one hand, and the *auspicia certa Romana* on the other.

Reconstructing the historical context of Cerco's attempt is not easy, because the events of 241 BC were included in the lost book 20 of Livy. We know from the epitome that the consuls were involved in a six-day war against the town of Falerii, and Livy later refers to the peace treaty between Rome and Carthage in this year.²⁰ The longest account we possess of the year is that of Polybius, which is entirely dominated by events in Sicily, the battle of the Aegates and its aftermath.²¹ He writes that C. Lutatius Catulus defeated the Carthaginians and forced them to accept a peace treaty, which, however, was not ratified by the assemblies at Rome. The Romans then sent a delegation of ten men to renegotiate the terms of the treaty, which were made slightly harsher on the Carthaginians. Polybius then briefly mentions the war against Falerii, which was rapidly won by the Romans. Cerco is not even named by Polybius. Zonaras, on the other hand, specifies the provinces assigned to the consuls: Q. Lutatius Cerco went to Sicily to help his brother negotiate with the Carthaginians, whereas A. Manlius Torquatus took charge of the war against Falerii.²² This account might be wrong, because according to the *Fasti Triumphales* both consuls celebrated a triumph against Falerii, a version also found in Eutropius.²³ If the war against Falerii lasted only six days, it might have happened before Cerco's departure to Sicily, or after his return. The fragmentary status of the sources does not allow a clear appreciation of the historical context of Cerco's consultation of the Praenestine lots, although it is more likely that it was connected with the war against Falerii than with events in Sicily, if only because of geographical proximity.

Without a precise historical context for the episode many questions will have to remain unanswered: why did Cerco want to consult the lots of Fortuna Primigenia, and did he do so for reasons of public

²⁰ Liv. *per.* 20; 30, 44, 1.

²¹ Polyb. 1, 62–5.

²² Zon. 8, 17–18.

²³ *Fast. Trium.* (CIL 1² p. 47), Eutr. 2, 28.

policy, as the sources imply? Modern scholars have explained the senate's prohibition in different ways. To some it was the expression of a religious polemic between the two cities, or of the fear that the lots might offer a response unfavourable to Roman interests.²⁴ Others suppose that the Romans believed that the lots did not represent the will of the gods, or that Rome was hostile to predictive oracles in general.²⁵ Whatever the precise historical context, the anecdote definitely confirms that, by 241 BC, there was a functioning oracle of Fortuna based on lots at Praeneste, and that this oracle was famous enough to attract people from other Italian towns, including Rome.

The story of Cerco probably represents an example of conceptual struggle over the meanings attributed to Fortuna and her oracle at Rome. The problem did not necessarily arise from the consultation of a foreign oracle itself, but from the definition of the oracle of Fortuna Primigenia as *auspica*.²⁶ Foreign oracles, especially Delphi, were repeatedly and uncontroversially consulted by officers of the Roman Republic, before and after Cerco's attempt, although some of these consultations are of doubtful historicity.²⁷ By accusing Cerco of wishing to take *auspica* from the lots of Fortuna Primigenia, a group of senators were implicitly contrasting Fortuna with Jupiter, the god with whom auspices were normally associated, and turning what Cerco was about to do into something unacceptable.²⁸ By using the concept of *auspiciu*m rather than that of *oraculu*m, a semantic shift was proposed on the value of the consultation of Fortuna to contrast Cerco: in other words, this operation would qualify as a semantic struggle over the meaning of *auspica*. We have other evidence from the same period that the concept of *auspiciu*m was

²⁴ Brelich 2010³ ch.1; Champeaux 1982–7, I, 78–80.

²⁵ Rosenstein 1995; Santi 2008. I do not find convincing the 'political' interpretation offered by Ziolkowski 1987, as I think that the sources are too fragmentary to reconstruct any well-defined factional politics. On the oracle, see also Frateantonio 2011.

²⁶ On the word *alienigena*, see Urso 1994. The word appears in an anti-Carthaginian sense in the *carmina Marciana* (Liv. 25, 12), and Urso argues convincingly that there must be a specific reference to the non-Italian origin of the Carthaginians, although for obvious reasons it cannot be the case for Praeneste.

²⁷ Consultation during the regal period: Liv. 1, 56; Ovid., *Fast.* 2, 711–20. During the siege of Veii: Liv. 5, 15–16; Dion. Hal. 12, 10, 12; Val. Max. 1, 6, 3; Plut., *Cam.* 4, 5–7. During the Samnite Wars: Plin., *NH* 34, 26; Plut., *Num.* 8, 10. Gift after the victory of Clastidium: Plut., *Marc.* 8. Consultation after the battle of Cannae: Liv. 22, 57, 5; 23, 11, 1–6; Plut., *Fab.* 18, 3.

²⁸ Liv. 1, 18, 9; Cic., *Div.* 2, 42–3.

object of a semantic struggle. This other story regards the *auspicia ex tripudiis*, a kind of auspices consisting in feeding chickens before a battle. The auspices were considered favourable if the chickens ate eagerly, whereas they were unfavourable if they refused to eat. Before fighting the naval battle of Drepana in 249 BC, the consul P. Claudius Pulcher decided to ignore the unfavourable auspices of the sacred chickens, and decided to engage in a naval battle with catastrophic consequences.²⁹ According to Cicero, Claudius even had the chickens thrown into water, so that they could drink if they would not eat.³⁰ This story could of course be disregarded as an aetiology of the Roman defeat, or as an example of impious behaviour and of the infamous arrogance of the Claudii. Alternatively, if we compare this story with the anecdote concerning Cerco, the two episodes could provide a glimpse of a political debate on the meaning and the significance of the auspices in the final years of the First Punic War, in which different groups and individuals were openly redefining the meaning of the concept of auspices, as had happened a few years before Cerco at the battle of Drepana. In the particular context of Cerco, the semantic shift of *auspicium* would invest the significance of the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia to Roman public religion. The closure of the First Punic War provided the context of crisis in which this struggle could take place, and its consequences were lasting, insofar as we do not hear of other attempts to consult the oracle by Roman officials.

A fragmentary inscription testifies to the offering of a gift from the *Aeret(inae) Matro(nae)* to a god or goddess, whose name is not preserved on the stone.³¹ It was found near the church of S. Giovanni, an area which has yielded remains of architectural decorations in terracotta, and which hosted a sanctuary. According to Attilio Degrassi, *Aeret(inae) Matro(nae)* are the Matrons of Eretum, and the gift was offered to Fortuna Primigenia.³² If so, we would have a group of matrons from a neighbouring town collectively offering a gift to the goddess. There is a parallel at Pisaurum, where the local matrons (*matrona pisaurese*) collectively offered a gift to Juno in the early

²⁹ Cic., *div. 1*, 29; 2, 71; *nat. deo. 2*, 7; Liv. 22, 42, 9. A discussion in Rasmussen 2003, 161.

³⁰ Cic., *nat. deo. 2*, 7. Although Walbank 1957–79, I, 113–14, rejects the whole story as legendary, he does so merely because it is absent in Polybius.

³¹ CIL 1² 3047.

³² Degrassi 1969a. On Eretum, see now Togninelli 2009.

second century BC.³³ What makes the Praenestine inscription exceptional is that the matrons decided to offer a gift to a Praenestine goddess, which testifies to her importance at a regional level, and their willingness to create an association with her. The main objection to the identification of the deity as Fortuna Primigenia is, however, the place of the find: the church of S. Giovanni was nowhere near the sanctuary of Fortuna. Sandra Gatti has proposed that the sanctuary was dedicated to Mater Matuta, whose cult is documented in imperial inscriptions, although they do not come from the same area.³⁴ I am inclined to think that Degrassi might be right in his attribution: we know from the story of Q. Lutatius Cerco that in this period Fortuna was able to attract worshippers from other towns, and this is not documented for any other god or goddess at Praeneste.

An epigraphic document shows that in this period there could have been one other temple of Fortuna at Praeneste. It is a block of marble in a private collection, and preserves the votive offering of architectural items to Fortuna (without epithets) by two private citizens, a L. Aulius Caesanius and another whose name is not preserved.³⁵ They offered a *vortex*, probably an *acroterion*, and a second architectural feature whose character is not specified in the surviving text.³⁶ According to Degrassi, palaeography shows that the inscription must be older than the great sanctuary of Fortuna, and probably dates from the late third or early second century BC. Unfortunately, the precise context of the find is not known, although the stone was reportedly found with other material 'at Palestrina, going up on the left side in the direction of the Duomo'—which means quite far away from the main sanctuary.³⁷ This does not mean necessarily that the inscription is not related to the main sanctuary, as a considerable displacement of material can be hardly surprising in a site of continuous occupation like Praeneste. However, because of the early date and the context, the possibility remains that the document relates to a separate sanctuary. The person offering the gift, L. Aulius Caesanius, might have been a Caesius adopted by an Aulius. The Aulii were an ancient family from Praeneste, attested in several inscriptions of the necropolis.³⁸ The inscription does not contain any public title, and the two men were probably wealthy Praenestines who decided to

³³ CIL 1² 378.

³⁴ Gatti 1995, esp. 103–6.

³⁵ CIL 1² 3048.

³⁶ Degrassi 1969b, 127–9.

³⁷ Degrassi 1969b, 127–8.

³⁸ CIL 1² 91–5.

finance part of the construction of a temple to increase their status and associate themselves with the goddess, a practice that was very common in the later monumental temple. This document shows that the Praenestine aristocracy used Fortuna to advertise their wealth and status already from an earlier period.

During the Second Punic War the Praenestines played an important role resisting Hannibal during the siege of Casilinum of 216 BC. According to Livy, the siege was long and hard, and the allied garrison of the town did all they could to hold out, finally surrendering after a heroic resistance.³⁹ Livy tells us that most of the garrison came from Praeneste, and that after their return home a statue of their praetor M. Anicius was erected in the forum, bearing the inscription: 'M. Anicius fulfilled a vow in honour of the soldiers who were in the garrison of Casilinum.'⁴⁰ The same inscription was engraved under three further statues dedicated on the same occasion in the temple of Fortuna. This piece of information testifies to the importance of the goddess to the whole town. It also appears to show a connection between the goddess and salvation from a situation of extreme danger. This connection with salvation was probably the reason why the Praenestine goddess was plausibly called saviour (*σώτειρα*) in a series of contemporary inscribed bronze strigils produced by Praenestine workshops.⁴¹

It was slightly later that a Roman temple of Fortuna Primigenia was vowed by a Roman consul, and was dedicated in 194 BC at Rome on the Quirinal.⁴² Given the peculiar epithet, there can be little doubt that the Roman Fortuna Primigenia was inspired by the Praenestine goddess.⁴³ However, one should not assume for this reason that the Roman Fortuna and the Praenestine Fortuna were one and the same deity. The sources referring to the Roman temple never imply that the goddess of the Quirinal had anything to do with her Praenestine counterpart, and, once her temple was established, it is reasonable to think that the Roman Fortuna Primigenia was considered a wholly independent divine persona.

Two decades later, L. Quinctius Flamininus, the brother of the famous Titus, offered a statue in Praeneste from the booty of his

³⁹ Liv. 23, 19.

⁴⁰ Liv. 23, 19, 18: *M. Anicium pro militibus qui Casilini in praesidio fuerint uotum soluisse*.

⁴¹ I discuss the strigils in ch.6.

⁴² Liv. 34, 53. See ch.4.

⁴³ As I shall discuss below (ch.4), I think it is unlikely that there was a temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the Capitol which predated the temple of 194 BC.

victory at Leucas. We know this because a fragment of the inscribed base of the statue has been preserved. The inscription can be restored thus: [*L. Quinctius L(uci) f(ilius) Le]ucado cepit,/[eidem conso]l dedit*: 'L. Quinctius, the son of Lucius, took (this) from Leucas, the same person when he was consul offered (this as a gift)'.⁴⁴ The statue was therefore offered during his consulship in 192 BC, whereas the battle had taken place in 197 BC.⁴⁵ It is assumed that Lucius, who served in Leucas under the authority of his brother Titus, offered a part of his personal share of booty. Recent excavations at Praeneste have allowed a much better understanding of the archaeological context of the find. The base was found on the higher of the so-called 'terrazze del Borgo', a series of terraces that separated the sanctuary from the forum below, a space which was adorned and monumentalized with fountains and nymphaei; Filippo Demma has convincingly argued that this must have happened between the third and the second centuries BC.⁴⁶ But to whom did Flamininus offer his gift? Degrassi thought that the statue was a gift to the town of Praeneste, rather than to Fortuna.⁴⁷ In a recent work, Demma has argued that the whole area of the upper terrace was connected to the sanctuary and designed to host gifts to Fortuna, and that the statue must be interpreted as one such. He supports his case with several arguments: 1) the base was found together with a gift to Fortuna Primigenia offered by a professional association of *fabri*; 2) the terrace where the statue was found was respected during the construction of the great sanctuary of Fortuna in the late second century BC; 3) a later inscription from Rome testifies to devotion to Fortuna on the part of a Titus Quinctius, perhaps the consul of 123 BC; 4) the statue at Praeneste was offered only two years after the dedication of the temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the Quirinal.⁴⁸ None of these arguments is conclusive, however, and I do not believe that the matter can be resolved. I am inclined to think that if the statue were a gift offered to Fortuna, this would have been stated in the inscription, but it is also true that the evidence discussed in the pages above shows that the goddess had a particularly strong significance to the civic community.

⁴⁴ CIL 1² 613 = ILLRP 321.

⁴⁵ Liv. 33, 17.44.

⁴⁶ Demma 2010–11, 34, 55.

⁴⁷ Degrassi 1969b, 112 n.4.

⁴⁸ Demma 2010–11, 40–1; CIL 1² 656. For Fortuna Primigenia on the Quirinal see ch.4.

Two inscriptions make it clear that the sanctuary of Fortuna at Praeneste must have had a treasury.⁴⁹ The two stones are inscribed with the same text, and their original shapes and dimensions must have been similar. They both commemorate the construction of something, the nature of which is not preserved on the stone, by two individuals, a Saufeijs Trama, son of Lucius, and another whose gentile name is lost, but who had the cognomen Balbus and was son of Caius. This construction was funded *aere Fortunai*, 'from the treasury of Fortuna'. Although the stones were found out of their original context, they must have been inscribed in the second century BC for palaeographic and linguistic reasons. The editor has suggested that the object erected was a *[sed]ile*, a stone seat, and the two stones were on each side of the base.⁵⁰ These documents show that, in the second century BC, the sanctuary of Fortuna had funds at its disposal and was probably the centre of economic activity.

In 173 BC, the consul L. Postumius deliberately humiliated the Praenestines, while at the same time honouring Fortuna. Livy narrates that Postumius was angry at the Praenestines because, on a previous visit to offer a sacrifice at the sanctuary of Fortuna Primi-genia, they did not greet him with any mark of honour.⁵¹ Therefore, on his way to Campania after his election to the consulship, he sent out a letter to the Praenestines to announce a visit to the town, demanding to be received outside the city gates by a magistrate, to be hosted at the expense of the local administration, and to have pack animals to carry his baggage to Campania, his final destination. Livy also adds that Postumius was the first consul ever to make such demands of an allied town. He explains that usually there was a custom of mutual hospitality between nobles: the Romans used to be guests of locals when they needed to be in an Italian town, and they were in turn expected to offer their hospitality to the Italians when they came to Rome.⁵² One may assume that Postumius' anger at his treatment when visiting as a private citizen probably meant that Roman nobles expected to be received with honours even when not holding office. We have no evidence to suggest a specific meaning that Postumius attributed to Fortuna, and the fact that a Roman consul

⁴⁹ AE 1996, 329 = Gatti 1996. See Bodei Giglioli 1977 on economic activities of sanctuaries in Latium.

⁵⁰ Gatti 1996, 258.

⁵¹ Liv. 42, 1, 7. Briscoe 2012, 153–6.

⁵² On this aspect, see Fronda 2011.

visited the sanctuary shows that the hypothesis of a religious rivalry between Rome and Praeneste can hardly be supported.

Perhaps the best proof of the prestige of Fortuna Primigenia in the second century BC is Livy's account of the visit of King Prusias of Bithynia, who came to Italy in 167 BC to congratulate the Romans for their victory over Perseus.⁵³ Livy, who refers to unnamed Roman writers (*scriptores nostri*) as sources, says that during his meeting with the senate, Prusias requested permission to perform sacrifices on the Capitol—certainly to Jupiter, although Livy does not say so—and at Praeneste to Fortuna, to fulfil vows he had made for the victory of the Romans (*pro victoria populi Romani*). This story may demonstrate the fame of the Praenestine goddess in the Greek East, and probably also that her identity with Tyche was established.⁵⁴ Livy contrasts the generally positive account given by Roman writers with the version of the events in Polybius, which stressed the flattering and humiliating nature of Prusias' visit, when he apparently presented himself to the senate as a freed slave of the Romans.⁵⁵ In particular, according to Polybius, during his meeting with the senators Prusias hailed them as saviour gods (30, 18, 5: *Χαίρετε θεοὶ σωτῆρες*). Although Polybius saw this as a sign of unmanliness and flattery (*ἀνανδρία, κολακεία*), one can see that the whole visit of Prusias was characterized by carefully planned religious episodes. In Livy, when Prusias arrived at Rome he asked for two days to visit the city and its temples, and to meet his friends and hosts (*templa deum urbemque et hospites amicosque*). It was only on the third day that his meeting with the senate took place, at which he hailed the senators as saviour gods and asked their permission to perform sacrifices to Jupiter and Fortuna for the victory of the Romans. This suggests that Prusias probably considered Fortuna and Jupiter saviour gods (*θεοὶ σωτῆρες*), or at the very least connected them with a notion of salvation arising from the Roman victory against Perseus, and that it was in such a spirit that he offered sacrifices to them.

In 155 BC the Academic philosopher Carneades came to Rome as one of three ambassadors to ask the senate to cancel a fine imposed on Athens for a raid against Oropus.⁵⁶ According to his pupil Clitomachus, as reported by Cicero, Carneades used to say that he had nowhere seen

⁵³ Liv. 45, 44. Briscoe 2012, 761–5.

⁵⁴ See ch.6.

⁵⁵ Polyb. 30, 18, cf. Diod. 31, 15. Walbank 1957–79, III, 441–2.

⁵⁶ Polyb. 33, 2, with Walbank 1957–79, III, 543–5 with a list of other sources.

a more fortunate Fortuna than at Praeneste (*nusquam se fortunatiorem quam Praeneste vidisse Fortunam*).⁵⁷ It is reasonable to think that Carneades visited the sanctuary at Praeneste during his visit to Rome. As our sources for this event are very fragmentary, I shall not speculate about the circumstances that led Carneades to Praeneste. The context in Cicero is a long passage that I shall discuss in more detail below, in which he criticizes divination by means of lots, and ridicules the Praenestine oracle as the most prestigious example of this practice. It is possible that Carneades' pointed remark alluded to the wealth and impressive appearance of the sanctuary, but it also implies a veiled criticism of the goddess Fortuna.⁵⁸

The temple of the most fortunate Fortuna that Carneades and Prusias visited was not the great temple whose remains are still visible today. Traces of the earlier phase of the sanctuary can be seen, but not much can be said about them because they were mostly erased by the later temple. According to Fausto Zevi, the earliest visible phase is probably to be dated between the Hannibalic War and the beginning of the second century BC—that is to say, it was constructed more or less at the time in which the *terrazza del borgo* below was monumentalized.⁵⁹ It was in the late second century BC that the great temple of Fortuna, whose remains are still visible today, was built (Fig. 1.4).⁶⁰ The sanctuary in its late Republican form is structured on three terraces. The current scholarly consensus is that the cult was centred on the lower and upper terraces, with the whole structure resting on polygonal walls, and the middle terrace relegated to a connecting function.⁶¹ The lower terrace is the so-called *terrazza degli emicicli* (Fig. 1.4.1). It was a richly decorated area, and included a well, surmounted by a *monopteros* construction in imitation of a temple. It is believed that this well may have had some kind of cultic function. Filippo Coarelli argued that it was here that the oracular lots of Fortuna were kept, whereas Fausto Zevi, more convincingly, suggested that the well was the one attributed to Numerius Suffestius, the founder of the oracle according to a story transmitted by Cicero,

⁵⁷ Cic., *De div.* 2, 87, and see below for a discussion of the whole passage.

⁵⁸ See ch.7. ⁵⁹ Zevi 1998.

⁶⁰ The date was demonstrated with onomastic arguments in Degraffi 1969b, 147–63 and is now frequently accepted in modern scholarship, but see Clauss 1977.

⁶¹ Important discussions are Coarelli 1987, 35–84; Zevi 1998. For a bibliographic update, see also Ceccarelli-Marroni 2011, 400–6.



Fig. 1.4. Reconstruction of the late Republican temple of Fortuna Primigenia. 1) lower terrace (terrazza degli emicicli); 2) middle terrace (terrazza delle cortine); 3) sanctuary.

Photograph by the author. © Polo Museale del Lazio—Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina e Santuario della Fortuna Primigenia, su concessione del Mibact.

which I shall comment on below.⁶² However that might be, scholars agree that this must have been the location of a statue, mentioned by Cicero, of Fortuna suckling the infants Juno and Jupiter. The lowest part of the well is cut directly into the rock, and there the head of a monumental female statue was found, which is normally believed to be the head of the statue described by Cicero (Fig. 1.5).⁶³ According to Zevi, this terrace was dedicated principally to the worship of Fortuna by mothers, who would have had their own entrance to this area, whereas the pathway connecting the lower and the middle terrace was used by other worshippers as a processional way up to the main sanctuary and the oracle.⁶⁴ As mentioned above, the middle terrace, the so called *terrazza delle cortine*, is normally considered merely a passageway between the temple and the lower terrace in view of the absence of significant archaeological material (Fig. 1.4.2). Not much remains of the great temple because the main structure, a circular building with a dome, was incorporated into the renaissance Palazzo Colonna-Barberini (Fig. 1.1, Fig. 1.4.3). The staircase leading to the temple took the form of a theatre, and it was probably used for performances during festivals.⁶⁵

More than sixty inscriptions which are certainly or probably votive gifts to Fortuna are known from the monumental phase of the temple. Unfortunately we know little about their original archaeological contexts, as most of them were displaced during the Middle Ages and the Early Modern period. Even a cursory look at the inscriptions gives a striking image of the variety and the diffusion of the worship of Fortuna Primigenia. A first group of inscriptions includes dedications

⁶² Zevi 1992; Coarelli 1987, 70–2. Both interpretations are based on the identification of the well of the *emicicli* terrace with a hole in the ground which appears on a Praenestine chest. Zevi gives a very convincing interpretation of a scene engraved on the rectangular *cista* from Villa Giulia as a representation of the myth of Numerius Suffustius, whereas Coarelli believes this must have been a representation of the consultation of the oracle by a boy. The other argument of Coarelli for the oracular interpretation of the well is that the expression *oraculum patet* on the Fasti Praenestini would have a parallel with the expression *mundus patet*, referred to the *mundus* in the Roman forum: he believes that both expressions refer to the opening of a subterranean sacred area. But *pateo* is such a common verb that the parallel cannot be compelling. It is healthy to remember that the interpretation of most of the engraved scenes on Praenestine mirrors and boxes is difficult and controversial, and they are certainly not the best kind of evidence to base the reconstruction of the sanctuary on.

⁶³ Coarelli 1987, 50; Agnoli 2002, n. I.5 pp.52–5.

⁶⁴ Zevi 1998, 138–48.

⁶⁵ On which see Champeaux 1982–87, I, 57 n. 243.

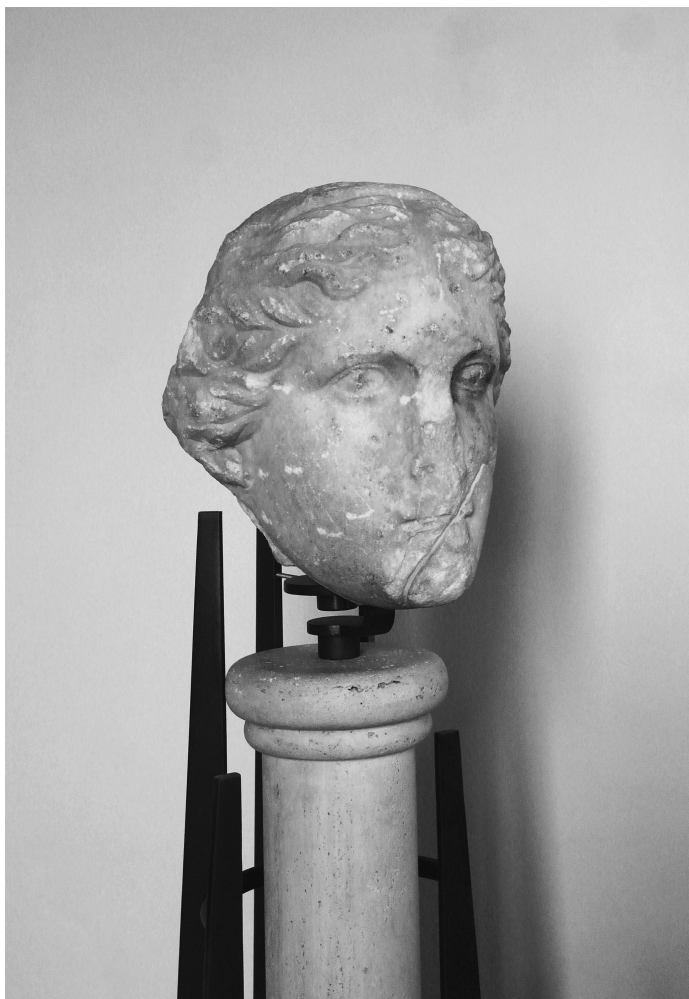


Fig. 1.5. Head of the cultic statue of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste.

Photograph by the author. © Polo Museale del Lazio—Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina e Santuario della Fortuna Primigenia, su concessione del Mibact.

by members of the Praenestine nobility.⁶⁶ Examples include a beautiful marble crown offered to Fortuna by A. Decumius, now in the

⁶⁶ Degrassi (1969b, 114–16) has very convincingly argued that at Praeneste there was a group of 138 ancient families, whose names are attested in the funerary inscriptions from the necropolis, fourth/third centuries BC. These families were mostly

epigraphic museum of the Terme di Diocleziano, and a later statue offered by L. Vatronius Bolanus.⁶⁷ A few texts, inscribed on architectural features of the sanctuary, commemorate construction works; some were commissioned by the local senate (*de senatus sententia*), and others preserve the titles of the city's magistrates: censors, quaestors, and aediles.⁶⁸ A second, significant group of thirty-five inscriptions were commissioned by professional associations (*collegia*)—of different kinds: from chefs and butchers to blacksmiths, marble workers, singers, flute players, messengers, and others.⁶⁹ The officers of these professional associations are often named in the inscriptions. They include a wide variety of people of all social backgrounds, and there is a good mixture of citizens, freedmen, and slaves (often with Greek names). We even find a professional association from Rome: one of the gifts is offered by the goldsmiths (*aurifices*) of the Sacra Via, probably at Rome.⁷⁰ Another was offered by a Roman aedile of the plebs, whose name is not preserved.⁷¹ These inscriptions demonstrate how lively the social and economic life of the sanctuary must have been, but also testify to the variety of the worshippers in the *emicicli* area and elsewhere. What did Fortuna mean to a Praenestine professional blacksmith, to a Greek slave who worked as a singer, to a local magistrate who was part of the nobility, or to a Roman aedile of the plebs? She was certainly not a maternal goddess to them, and it is unlikely that any other reductionist hypothesis would be satisfactory. Fortuna was many different things to many different people, and her worshippers had a great deal of liberty in deciding what she meant to them.

The Sullan period was a traumatic phase in the history of Praeneste. The city was a Marian stronghold, and strenuously supported Marius the younger. When the city surrendered to the supporters of

destroyed, or their importance drastically diminished, after the Sullan massacres (on which see below).

⁶⁷ CIL 1² 1445, 3054.

⁶⁸ CIL 1² 1472; 2532 = AE 1968 111 (construction works of aediles); 3083 a-c, 3084 (with *de senatus sententia*); 3044 (two *quaestores* supervising construction works for Fortuna); 3045 (commemorates the offer of silver statues by two gentlemen); 3087 (construction works by censors).

⁶⁹ On these inscriptions there is now the essential monograph Franchi De Bellis 2013.

⁷⁰ CIL 1² 3058, with Franchi De Bellis 2013, 165–7.

⁷¹ CIL 1² 3056.

Sulla, he had many of its nobles slaughtered.⁷² The scale of the bloodshed varies in different accounts: Appian implies that all adult male citizens were killed, and only women and children spared, while Valerius Maximus gives a figure of 5,000 dead. Although these reports may be exaggerated to emphasize Sulla's cruelty, Attilio Degrassi argued on the basis of inscriptions that most of the 138 families attested in the mid-Republican necropolis of Praeneste disappeared after the Sullan period, although this was contested by Manfred Clauss.⁷³ The epigraphic record also shows that the city became a colony.⁷⁴ What impact all this might have had on the cult of Fortuna is open to debate. Sulla was probably interested in the goddess, and we know from Pliny that he funded a new pavement for the temple at Praeneste.⁷⁵ An inscription on two architectural fragments also shows that construction works in the sanctuary were carried out by M. Terentius Varro Lucullus, who must be identical with the consul of 73 BC, one of Sulla's lieutenants and a possible founder of the Sullan colony of Praeneste.⁷⁶ A denarius of M. Plaetorius Cestianus, struck in 68 BC, shows on the obverse a boy holding an object bearing the inscription *sors* ('lot') and a bust which might be Fortuna Primigenia on the reverse (Fig. 1.6).⁷⁷ This is best interpreted as a proud advertisement of the Praenestine origins of Plaetorius, who was adopted from the local family of the Cestii, and testifies to the continuing significance of the sanctuary and its importance for the identity of the city. Plaetorius also chose to stress the goddess's traditional connection with the oracle. In spite of social change and the reduction of the city's independence, the importance of the sanctuary was far from diminished. The diversity of persons and groups who honoured Fortuna continued into the Sullan and post-Sullan periods, when many sought to do so in both old and new ways.⁷⁸

⁷² App., *Civ.* 1, 94; Liv. *per.* 88; Plut., *Sull.* 32; Val. Max., 9, 2, 1.

⁷³ Degrassi 1969b, 127. Clauss 1977, on the other hand, makes the reduction of the number of families much less drastic than Degrassi, and strongly argues against using family names as a dating criterion.

⁷⁴ For example, we have three Republican inscriptions referring to *decuriones*: CIL 1² 1462 (which comes from the sanctuary), 1464, 1473. On the composition of the colonial elite, see Harvey 1975.

⁷⁵ Plin., *N.H.* 36, 189.

⁷⁶ CIL 1² 2956 = Panciera 1991, n. 105. Lucullus' name is also attested on an inscription from the forum area, CIL 1² 742. Also Plut., *Sull.* 27, 14.

⁷⁷ RRC 405/2.

⁷⁸ For Fortuna and Sulla, see ch.5.



Fig. 1.6. Denarius of M. Plaetorius Cestianus, 68 BC (RRC 405/2).

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The most extensive source of information on the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste is Cicero's work *On Divination*, written in 44 BC. In this work, Praeneste and Fortuna Primigenia are discussed as paradigmatic examples of divination by sortition of lots (cleromancy). The sanctuary is first mentioned by Quintus, who presents arguments in favour of divination: lot sortition is not to be despised, especially if it has the authority of antiquity, as in the case of lots recovered from the earth (1, 34: *ut eae sunt sortes, quas e terra editas accepimus*). This is a clear allusion to the oracle of Praeneste, and the information is expanded in book 2, where Marcus gives arguments against cleromancy.

2, 85–7: *Dicendum igitur putas de sortibus? Quid enim sors est? Idem prope modum, quod micare, quod talos iacere, quod tesseras, quibus in rebus temeritas et casus, non ratio nec consilium valet. Tota res est inventa fallacis aut ad quaestum aut ad superstitionem aut ad errorem. Atque ut in haruspicina fecimus, sic videamus, clarissumarum ortium quae tradatur inventio. Numerium Suffustium Praenestinatorum monumenta declarant, honestum hominem et nobilem, somniis crebris, ad extremum etiam minacibus cum iuberetur certo in loco silicem caedere, perterritum visis irradientibus suis civibus id agere coepisse; itaque perfracto saxo sortis erupisse in robore insculptas priscarum litterarum notis. Is est hodie locus saeptus religiose propter Iovis pueri, qui lactens cum Iunone Fortunae in gremio sedens mammam adpetens castissime colitur a matribus. Eodemque tempore in eo loco, ubi Fortunae nunc est aedes, mel ex olea fluxisse dicunt, haruspicesque dixisse summa nobilitate illas sortis futuras, eorumque iussu ex illa olea arcam esse factam, eoque conditas sortis, quae hodie Fortunae monitu tolluntur. Quid igitur in his potest esse certi, quae Fortunae monitu pueri manu miscentur atque ducuntur? quo modo autem istae positae in illo loco? quis robur*

*illud cecidit, dolavit, inscripsit? Nihil est, inquit, quod deus efficere non possit. Utinam sapientis Stoicos effecisset, ne omnia cum superstitiosa sollicitudine et miseria crederent! Sed hoc quidem genus divinationis vita iam communis expoluit; fani pulchritudo et vetustas Praenestinarum etiam nunc retinet sortium nomen, atque id in vulgus. Quis enim magistratus aut quis vir inlustrior utitur sortibus? ceteris vero in locis sortes plane refrixerunt. Quod Carneadem Clitomachus scribit dicere solitum, nusquam se fortunatiorem quam Praeneste vidisse Fortunam. Ergo hoc divinationis genus omittamus.*⁷⁹

Do you think we should talk about the casting of lots? What is a lot? It is much like playing at morra, dice, or knucklebones, in which recklessness and luck prevail rather than reflection and judgement. The whole scheme of divination by lots was fraudulently contrived from mercenary motives, or as a means of encouraging superstition and error. But let us follow the method used in the discussion of soothsaying and consider the traditional origin of the most famous lots. According to the annals of Praeneste Numerius Suffustius, who was a distinguished man of noble birth, was admonished by dreams, often repeated, and finally even by threats, to split open a flint rock which was lying in a designated place. Frightened by the visions and disregarding the jeers of his fellow-townsmen he set about doing as he had been directed. And so when he had broken open the stone, the lots sprang forth carved on oak, in ancient characters. The site where the stone was found is religiously guarded to this day. It is hard by the statue of the infant Jupiter, who is represented as sitting with Juno in the lap of Fortuna and reaching for her breast, and it is held in the highest reverence by mothers. There is a tradition that, concurrently with the finding of the lots and in the spot where the temple of Fortuna now stands, honey flowed from an olive tree. Now the soothsayers, who had declared that those lots would enjoy an unrivalled reputation, gave orders that a chest should be made from the tree and lots placed in the chest. At the present time the lots are taken from their receptacle if Fortuna directs. What reliance, pray, can you put in these lots, which at Fortuna's nod are shuffled and drawn by the hand of a child? And how did they ever get in that rock? Who cut down the oak tree? And who fashioned and carved the lots? Oh! But somebody says, 'God can bring anything to pass'. If so, then I wish he had made the Stoics wise, so that they would not be so pitifully and distressingly superstitious and so prone to believe everything they hear! This sort of divining, however, has now been discarded by general

⁷⁹ I am following the text of Mueller. To be consulted with the commentary by Pease 1920–3, II, 488–96. The translation included is modified from W.A. Falconer.

usage. The beauty and age of the temple still preserve the name of the lots of Praeneste—that is, among the common people, for no magistrate and no man of any reputation ever consults them; but in all other places lots have gone entirely out of use. And this explains the remark which, according to Clitomachus, Carneades used to make that he had at no other place seen Fortune more fortunate than at Praeneste. Then let us dismiss this branch of divination.

This is one of the key texts used by modern scholars to reconstruct the theology of Fortuna at Praeneste. As noted earlier, its main thrust is to dismiss cleromancy as a superstitious and unreliable form of divination, unworthy of a magistrate or person of high rank. The Marcus character takes the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste as the paramount example of cleromancy, and it seems clear that, at least in his time, the association between lot sortition and Praeneste was very close. Marcus also narrates the foundation story of the Praenestine oracle, which he claims to have read in *Praenestinorum monumenta*, i.e. a local chronicle or perhaps inscriptions. It has been observed that Marcus' quick dismissal of cleromancy is quite suspect and his assertion that it had fallen into disuse certainly wrong: most of our evidence on divination by lot comes from exactly this period.⁸⁰ Marcus is playing with commonplaces. He describes Praeneste as the place where cleromancy, which he clearly wants to ridicule, is practised. Numerius Suffustius is characterized as a comic figure, excavating rocks while his fellow citizens laugh at his foolishness. Marcus speaks about two different places: the one where the lots were discovered by Numerius, which also housed the precinct with the statue (revered by mothers) of Fortuna and the baby Jupiter (*Is est hodie locus saeptus religiose propter Iovis pueri*), and the site where, at the same time when Numerius found the lots, the prodigy of the honey and the olive tree occurred, 'where the temple of Fortuna now stands' (*ubi Fortunae nunc est aedes*). Marcus later says that the lots were extracted by a boy. Although there is no reason to doubt the essential information provided by this passage, it is important to remember its rhetorical nature. Marcus wants to prove a point here, and in order to do so he is happy to distort facts. As he falsely claims that nobody of note practised cleromancy in his time, and he clearly wants to ridicule the founder of the oracle Numerius Suffustius, we should

⁸⁰ Most recently Santangelo 2013, 73–80; Klingshirn 2006, esp. 147–50 on Cicero; Grottanelli 2005, esp. 131–2.

also expect him to emphasize aspects of the sanctuary and its oracle that his readers would find strange or bizarre. His references to the recklessness and chance of the oracular process, as opposed to reflection and judgement (*temeritas et casus, non ratio nec consilium*), and to the witty remark of Carneades about ‘the most fortunate Fortune’, recall a tradition of philosophical criticism of chance which is part of a broader intellectual programme developed by Cicero on Fortuna after the Civil War, and which will be discussed in depth in a later chapter.⁸¹ Cicero’s critical tone when speaking of Praeneste and cleromancy must be taken with more than a pinch of salt. Elsewhere, Cicero also mentions an etymology of Fortuna Primigenia *a gignendo*, ‘from giving birth’, which confirms that he must have been aware of a tradition that somehow connected the goddess with motherhood.⁸²

We know from the *Fasti Praenestini* that the festival of the goddess was probably on the ninth and tenth of April: there was a sacrifice (*sacrificium maximum*) and the oracle was opened (*oraculum patet*).⁸³ It seems, therefore, that the oracle was not always open to the public, at least in the Augustan period. Champeaux observed that the use of the superlative in the expression *sacrificium maximum* might imply that there were other festivals in which sacrifices were offered to the goddess.⁸⁴

1.2 HOW MANY FORTUNAE?

From consideration of the evidence on Fortuna at Praeneste in the Republican period, multiplicity and complexity are among the first words that come to mind. But how are we to understand this multiplicity and this complexity?

In recent decades the prevailing attitude has been to interpret the multiplicity as evidence of theological contradiction and conflict. Cicero clearly states that there was a sacred precinct near the statue of a baby Jupiter, who was shown together with a baby Juno being

⁸¹ See ch.7. ⁸² *De leg.* 2, 28, on which see Dyck 2004, 336 and ch.7.

⁸³ A. Degrassi, *InsIt* 13, 2, p. 128: [*Biduo sacrificium maximu[m]/[fit] Fortunae Prim[i]g(eniae). Vtro eorum die/[eius] oraculum patet, Iuiri uitulum i(n)molant*]. On the reconstruction of the text, see Champeaux 1982–7, I, 55, n. 239.

⁸⁴ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 59–60.

suckled by Fortuna. This has been thought to contradict the inscriptions (discussed above) describing Fortuna Primigenia as daughter of Jupiter. Several interpretations of this evidence have been proposed by modern scholarship.⁸⁵ Angelo Brelich, in particular, explained what he saw as a genealogical paradox in terms of the relationship between Rome and Praeneste. Brelich explained the different relationships between Fortuna and Jupiter as expressions of a religious rivalry between the two cities.⁸⁶ His conclusion was that there is no contrast between the religions of Rome and Praeneste, but rather one between a “world of Jupiter” and a “world of Fortuna” within Latin religion, characterized by the cosmic and precosmic categories that Brelich took from his Hungarian teacher Kerenyi.⁸⁷ Later, this contrast was radicalized because of political enmity between the two cities. He also concluded, surprisingly, that Fortuna was a Mediterranean Mother Goddess. Georges Dumézil, on the other hand, believed that the double nature of mother and daughter of Jupiter is inherent in Fortuna, and is a sort of prehistoric theological structure coming from the Indo-European past of the goddess, in which a primordial deity was at the same time mother and daughter of the sovereign god.⁸⁸ Dumézil also believed that the epigraphic formula Fortuna Primigenia daughter of Jupiter implied an inherent contradiction, because he took the epithet *primigenia* to mean ‘primordial’ and, if Fortuna was primordial, she would be the mother of Jupiter (although Cicero never wrote that Fortuna is the mother of Jupiter). As we have seen this interpretation of the word *primigenia* is extremely uncertain. We may note that, in spite of their disagreement, both Brelich and Dumézil tried to reconstruct a coherent theology of Fortuna from the available sources. They both started from evidence from Rome and Praeneste, but then they used it to reconstruct a global interpretation of the goddess. The ultimate results of this methodology, however, are unsatisfactory: we have a generic Mother Goddess on the one hand, and an equally colourless prehistoric deity on the other.

One might well ask, however, whether and to what extent the evidence is really contradictory. The problem of contradiction only

⁸⁵ An overview in Champeaux 1982–7, I, 84–100.

⁸⁶ Brelich 2010³, 57–9.

⁸⁷ Brelich 2010³, 79: ‘La realtà precosmica dominata da Fortuna attinge, infatti, il proprio valore sacrale dal fatto che è fonte ed origine del cosmo di Iuppiter il quale, a sua volta, non sarebbe sufficientemente “garantito”, se non si fondasse su quello che è origine in senso assoluto, “primigenio”.

⁸⁸ Dumézil 1956, 71–98.

arises if we try to outline a single and coherent theology of an ancient deity, as Dumézil and Brelich attempted to do. I have already underlined how scholars working on Greek religion have learned to be more nuanced and less systematizing, and there is an open debate on the relationship between individual attestations of a single god.⁸⁹ If the multiplicity inherent in polytheism is accepted, what was taken as a genealogical paradox or a theological absurdum by Brelich and Dumézil needs little explaining. Accepting this multiplicity implies admitting that Fortuna might have been both wet nurse and daughter of Jupiter depending on the circumstances and the contexts in which individuals and communities represented her. This approach also allows us to distance ourselves both from systematizing interpretations of the evidence which assimilate the Romans and the Praenestines to Alexandrian theologians, and from those that aim at artificially eliminating potential contradictions. I am not implying that there were two distinct goddesses called Fortuna, but that the genealogical relationship with Jupiter could change in accordance with factors which could include the gender and the interests of the agents, or their cultic and topographic focus.

In recent years the various aspects of Fortuna at Praeneste have been explained as not so much multiplicity as 'doubleness'. Champeaux has argued that Fortuna has two natures: she is a maternal goddess on the one hand, and an oracular goddess on the other. This double Fortuna is said to be located in the two places mentioned by Cicero—the one where the lots were found and where Fortuna was represented as the wet nurse of Jupiter, and the one where the temple was situated. For Champeaux this double nature would consist of two separate aspects of the original Fortuna as a Mother Goddess, and for that reason we would have two distinct but complementary cults of Fortuna, as reflected by Statius' reference to *Praenestinae sorores* (*Sil.* 1, 3, 80).⁹⁰ Similarly, Coarelli has argued that at Praeneste there were two Fortunaes, who had exactly the same iconography as the Fortunaes of Antium.⁹¹ Although they disagree on the location of the oracle,

⁸⁹ See Introduction.

⁹⁰ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 49–50, 55 ff.

⁹¹ Coarelli 1987, 74–9. This, together with the question of terracotta sculptures mentioned above, was expanded in two papers: Riemann 1987, 1988. There is indeed a statue of two female deities on a couch that should most probably be identified with the Fortunaes of Antium. However, I find it more convincing to imagine that a statue of the Fortunaes Antiatas was offered in the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia. In many sanctuaries of Latium and Italy such interchangeability of gods in sanctuaries poses no

Zevi and Coarelli both believe that the lower terrace of the sanctuary and the temple on the upper terrace are to be identified with the two places mentioned by Cicero. Zevi, in particular, thinks that the lower terrace was reserved for the cult of Fortuna by mothers.⁹²

These reconstructions prompt two observations. The first regards the maternal aspect of the goddess. It would seem that four words of Cicero (*castissime colitur a matribus*) have trumped all the many pieces of epigraphic evidence suggesting that Fortuna was not especially worshipped by mothers. It is true that the Orcevia inscription attests a thanks offering to Fortuna after a successful childbirth, but we also have dozens of other inscriptions attesting gifts to Fortuna from other individuals, magistrates, foreigners, and professional associations, and some of these inscriptions come from the lower terrace.⁹³ This casts severe doubts on the exclusive or preferential use of this area by mothers, and in general on the prominence of the maternal aspect of Fortuna. Moreover Cicero speaks of the worship of *Iuppiter puer* rather than of his wet nurse Fortuna, which is not attested anywhere in the evidence from the city itself.⁹⁴ The second observation concerns the oracle. Here it is important to stress how little we know about the oracular practices of Praeneste; even the location of the chest containing the lots is disputed. There is very little to suggest that the oracle was subterranean, and I am more inclined to think that the lots were kept in the main sanctuary; but no conclusive evidence can be produced.⁹⁵

This is not to deny that Fortuna was an oracular goddess, or that she could be worshipped by mothers. My point is that to the Praenestines she was probably all these things, and much more, and that modern scholarship has failed to come to terms with her multiplicity

particular problem. The first to identify the statue with the *Fortunae Antiatinae* was Brendel 1960; an excellent discussion of the piece is Agnoli 2002, I.21, 89–93.

⁹² Coarelli 1987, 72–4; Zevi 1998, 138–48.

⁹³ E.g. CIL 1² 3044, 3045, 3051, 3053, 3056, 3057, 3060, 3065, 3066.

⁹⁴ Ceccarelli-Marroni 2011, 390 wrongly list gifts to Fortuna Primigenia daughter of Jupiter (*Iovis puero*) as if they were to a *Iuppiter puer*. I imagine that they must have been confused by CIL 14 2868, which has *ioui puero*, although they rightly complete *Iovi(s) puero*.

⁹⁵ Even Suet., *Tib.* 63, 1 (the chest of the lots is brought back *ad templum*) is inconclusive. The comparison with the oracle of Trophonios in Lebadea (Paus. 9, 39), often evoked by modern scholars, does not stand if the oracle was not subterranean. See Champeaux 1982–7, I, p. 68; Coarelli 1987, 70; De Martino 2015, 47–52. On the oracle of Trophonios, see also, with other sources and bibliography, Ustinova 2009, 90–6.

because it has given disproportionate importance to an uncritical reading of a single passage of Cicero. Fortuna certainly had an important oracle, and she could be worshipped by mothers. But she was many other things, to a broad variety of people.

One should also stress that several concurrent interpretations of the goddess are attested from the very beginning of our record. In the fourth and third centuries BC she was represented on engraved mirrors and *cistae*, once in a triumphal scene, and once in a meeting of gods possibly related to local ceremonial practices. At approximately the same period, she appeared as Primigenia, daughter of Jupiter, receiving a gift from Orcevia after the birth of her child, and as the oracular goddess consulted by the Roman consul of 241 BC. She was also hailed as 'saviour' on Praenestine strigils, an aspect that might have attracted gifts after the siege of Casilinum, and the sacrifices of Prusias in 167 BC.

Rather than systematizing and simplifying these various meanings of Fortuna, the sanctuary seems, if anything, to multiply them. In the inscriptions one can see how she was honoured by Praenestine magistrates and more or less well-off private individuals and groups, including freedmen and slaves, drawn from a variety of social classes and professions. It is also striking that Fortuna Primigenia seems to have been able to attract people from other towns: although for obvious reasons we know more about Roman dealings with the city, from the abortive consultation of Q. Lutatius Cerco to the gifts of L. Quinctius Flamininus, L. Postumius, Sulla, and the anonymous plebeian aedile in the first century BC. We also know of foreign visitors to the sanctuary, who are curiously concentrated in a couple of decades: Prusias in 167 and Carneades in 155 BC. This indicates not only the huge popularity of the sanctuary, but also the variety of its prestigious visitors. Finally, Fortuna was able to attract the attention of groups such as professional associations, and perhaps also the matrons from Eretum.

It is clear that all these individuals and groups saw many different things in Fortuna. To Roman consuls the triumphal aspect of Fortuna must have been very attractive. Sulla probably had a particular and highly personal view of the goddess.⁹⁶ The aspect of salvation would have been important to both Greek and Latin speakers. To Orcevia and the matrons Fortuna was a maternal goddess. To many she was the oracular goddess whose lots were kept in the chest. To most of the

⁹⁶ See ch.5.

worshippers who left an epigraphic record—and the *collegia* in particular—she was a goddess who could grant welfare and wealth. As one can see, these different meanings were sometimes specific and even personal, sometimes generic.

As for Rome's relationship with the sanctuary, we find the same variety of attitudes as with the locals, but with the exception of the senate in the Cerco story, whose details and exact circumstances are obscure, the Romans do not seem to have had any kind of problem with Fortuna Primigenia. On the contrary, even those, like Sulla and Postumius, who had difficult relations with the Praenestines seem to have been happy to pay homage to their great goddess. The fact that the Romans had a temple of Fortuna Primigenia in their own city might have played a role in their overwhelmingly positive attitude to Fortuna at Praeneste, but there may have been more to it than that, since people from other places also worshipped her, such as the matrons from Eretum.

There are three difficulties in the application of a conceptual approach to Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste. The first is that all our literary evidence is produced by Romans rather than Praenestines. This implies that their perspective is inevitably Roman and influenced by conceptual categories from Rome, and represents a risk because one should be careful not to adopt these Romanocentric distortions. The second difficulty regards local evidence, the inscriptions. I have attempted in the pages above to determine specific meanings given to Fortuna by the locals, but this has not always been possible. In many cases the Praenestines were offering gifts to Fortuna because they expected from the deity protection and benevolence, and any god or goddess could provide. The third difficulty is that the evidence is too fragmentary to appreciate significant semantic change, with the exception of the story of Q. Cerco, which regards, however, the Roman rather than the Praenestine context.

In spite of these difficulties, this chapter has been useful to determine that, even in a well-defined local context, Fortuna escapes from easy definitions and systematizing approaches. A conceptual approach has been useful in what I have called the macro-level—useful to cope with the variety and multiplicity of the ways in which different agents worshipped the goddess. Whether one were a local magistrate, a matron, a Roman consul, a Greek slave, an Academic philosopher, a member of a guild of singers, or a Hellenistic king—everyone could relate to Fortuna, and attribute specific meanings to the goddess.

Fortunae in Italy

In the previous chapter I discussed the most prestigious place of worship of Fortuna, the Latin town of Praeneste. Although in the religion of Praeneste the goddess had an essential role, reflected by a rich documentation, she was widely known and worshipped throughout Italy. So, how did the Italians worship Fortuna, and what can we know about the way they related to the goddess and the concept? This chapter will address these questions. It will be seen that the main difficulty in the Italian evidence is that it is very fragmentary. We will usually have to rely on a single piece of evidence, very often an inscription, and frequently out of its archaeological context, either because it was reused in antiquity or because it comes from unscientific excavations through nineteenth-century antiquarian collections. However, even in these cases, the inscribed text may reveal precious information. The title of this chapter, in which I have used the plural *Fortunae*, underlines the fact that I shall deal with the evidence on Fortuna in individual places in Italy assuming that in each place radically different meanings can be given to Fortuna, and each piece of evidence on the goddess must be studied in its own right. At the same time, in the conclusions, I shall outline common threads, meanings that seem to be attributed to Fortuna by a variety of local communities and individuals over the peninsula.

The structure of the chapter will be geographical. First of all, I shall analyse the evidence from Latium (*vetus* and *adiectum*), then from Campania, and finally from the rest of Italy, with the chapter closing with the so-called lot of Fiesole, an inscribed object of unknown provenance. Within individual sections, the exposition will be roughly chronological (bearing in mind that we cannot date very precisely some pieces of evidence). This section must be consulted with Maps 2.1 and 2.2.



Map 2.1. Places where the worship of Fortuna is attested in Latium and Campania.

Made by the author using Antiquity À-la-carte. © Ancient World Mapping Centre.

2.1 LATIUM

Let us start by analysing the evidence from Latium. One of the earliest pieces of evidence comes from Tusculum, a town in Latium Vetus which received Roman citizenship around 380 BC. Two columns with votive inscriptions dedicated to Fortuna and Mars by M. Furius, son of Gaius, were found in 1842 just north of the urban centre of Tusculum, probably in the extra-urban area in which a number of funerary inscriptions commemorating members of the Furii were found (Fig. 2.1).¹ Both columns were lost in the early twentieth century, but one of them, the one with the dedication to Mars, was found again in unclear circumstances in Molise, and is now in the Archaeological Museum in Sulmona.² The column offered to Fortuna is lost, but we can count on a good lithograph produced by Ritschl.³

According to Champeaux, following Münzer and Deggrasi, M. Fourio(s) should be identified with M. Furius Crassipes, *triumvir coloniae deducendae* in 194 BC, praetor in 187 and 173 BC.⁴ Champeaux argued that this dedication does not necessarily imply the

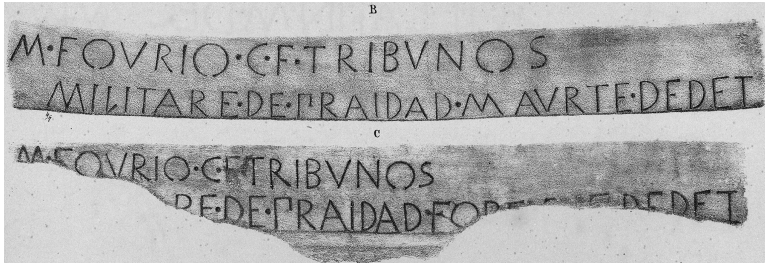


Fig. 2.1. Lithograph of column bases with votive inscriptions from Tusculum.

From Ritschl 1862.

¹ CIL 1² 48 = 14, 2577 = ILLRP 100: *M. Fourio C. f. tribunos/[milita]re de praidad For[tun]e dedet*; CIL 1² 49 = 14, 2578 = ILLRP 221: *M. Fourio C. f. tribunos/militare de praidad Maurte dedet*. Valenti 2003, 33, 364. When Mommsen saw the inscription, the word *Fortune* was still fully legible, and it must have deteriorated afterwards (but before Ritschl's reproduction).

² Poccetti 1982, esp. 659.

³ Ritschl 1862.

⁴ MRR, II, p. 569. Champeaux 1982–7, I, 184; Münzer 1910, 353; A. Deggrasi, *ad* ILLRP 100.

presence of a temple of *Fortuna* at Tusculum, although according to Valenti a votive context is also possible.⁵ One should probably imagine some kind of cult place, although it is impossible to determine its character.⁶

The date proposed by Münzer, however, is controversial: the inscription presents linguistic and palaeographic elements which would be quite exceptionally archaic for an early-second-century dedication. In a paper dedicated to the two inscriptions, Poccetti showed that, linguistically, the closest parallel is the elogium of L. Cornelius Scipio, the son of Scipio Barbatus and the consul of 259 BC.⁷ A possible explanation, already proposed by Ritschl in 1858, may be that the inscriptions represent a late-third- or early-second-century copy of an earlier text, which preserved some linguistic features of the original.⁸ Poccetti preferred to think of an ancient forgery, because of linguistic inconsistencies in the text.⁹ Diana Gorostidi Pi has most recently studied the two columns, and she has convincingly demonstrated that both palaeography and the kind of column used as support suggest a third-century date. She is also careful to distinguish the Furii at Tusculum from the Roman family, and suggests that the inscription should be interpreted as a gift offered by a member of the local elite, who served in a Roman army.¹⁰

Gorostidi Pi has argued that offering gifts to *Fortuna* in a military context would recall the dedication of the temple of *Fors Fortuna* by the Roman general Sp. Carvilius in 293 BC.¹¹ We have other examples of sanctuaries offered to *Fortuna* after military victories during the third century BC, but the parallel proposed by Gorostidi Pi is particularly significant for other reasons. First of all, both the temple of *Fors Fortuna* and the find-spot of the two columns were out of town. In the case of *Fors Fortuna* we can probably read the complex (together with the sacred grove of *dea Dia*) as having the function of protecting the

⁵ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 183–4. Valenti 2003, 74.

⁶ Champeaux's argument (183) is based on the find-spot of the inscription not far away from the tombs of the Furii, in what might have been private land of the family, but the legal status of the land can be only a matter of speculation.

⁷ ILLRP 310 = CIL 1² 8–9. Poccetti 1982, 665.

⁸ Ritschl 1858. Discussion in Poccetti 1982, 664, 671–2. Accepted with some reservation by Granino Cecere 2005, n. 319.

⁹ E.g. *-ai* > *e* in *Fortune* but not in *praidad*. Poccetti 1982, 674.

¹⁰ Díaz Ariño-Gorostidi Pi 2010, 173–4.

¹¹ Díaz Ariño-Gorostidi Pi 2010, 174.

border of Roman territory.¹² In the hymn of the Arval brothers, the priestly college based in the grove of *dea Dia*, Mars had an important role in the protection of borders, as Georges Dumézil demonstrated.¹³ It is tempting to see the offerings to Fortuna and Mars at Tusculum by a member of the local elite in this light, and I argue that she might have been protecting the city of Tusculum. The military context and the association with Mars also recall the Praenestine *cista* discussed in the previous chapter.¹⁴

The town of Gabii is on the Via Praenestina, halfway between Rome and Praeneste. In the 60s of the twentieth century, two inscribed stones of local tufa were found during the excavations led by the Spanish School at Rome, bearing dedications to *Fortuna*.¹⁵ The inscriptions were found in a structure located south-west of the temple of Juno, and connected with it, which has been interpreted as a small shrine (*sacellum*) dedicated to Fortuna, built at the beginning of the third century BC as an addition to the oldest temple.¹⁶ Next to the inscribed stones, the archaeologists found a votive deposit containing objects dating from the late fourth to the early second century BC.¹⁷ According to Nonnis, the documents may have been redacted in the first half of the third century BC.¹⁸ The names of the individuals offering the dedication to Fortuna are badly preserved: we have an *Opp[ia]* (?), and a *L(ucius) O[- -]*, probably also Oppius. Marcel Le Glay argued that, as the gens Oppia is well attested at Praeneste, the individuals who offered the gifts were from Praeneste. He also hypothesized that the Oppii might have played a role in the foundation of the shrine of Fortuna at Gabii.¹⁹ This hypothesis, however, seems to me unnecessary. First of all, there are not many direct connections between the Oppii and Fortuna at Praeneste.²⁰ Moreover, the diffusion of Fortuna in the third century BC is enough to explain her presence in Gabii. This *sacellum* was obliterated when the temple was totally reconstructed in a monumental form, around 150 BC.²¹ The fragmentary nature of this document does not allow us

¹² Scheid 1987. ¹³ Dumézil 1974², 240–1. ¹⁴ See ch.2.

¹⁵ CIL 1² 3092 b–c = AE 1983, 171–2 = Almagro-Gorbea 1983, 221–2.

¹⁶ Almagro-Gorbea 1983, 593. ¹⁷ Almagro-Gorbea 1983, 26–30.

¹⁸ Nonnis 2012. ¹⁹ Le Glay 1985.

²⁰ Le Glay (1985) quotes CIL 1² 3070, a gift offered to Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste by a professional association of flute players which included a certain Philotimus, a slave of the Oppii.

²¹ Almagro-Gorbea 1983, 620.

to determine what Fortuna meant to the Oppii at Gabii. It is, however, significant that two members of the same gens offered gifts to the goddess, and this points at an attempt to create a family association.

Wolfgang Helbig published a note on deposits of votive objects excavated at Signia before 1885.²² In one of these deposits a clay object was found, which Helbig described as ‘an elliptical pizza, with five pyramidal objects emerging from the upper side’.²³ On the inferior part of the object there was the inscription *Fortunai*, which for palaeographic and linguistic reasons should be dated to the third or second century BC.²⁴ This object was found in the southern part of the town, just inside the city walls near Porta Maggiore. Francesco Maria Cifarelli has recently argued that from Helbig’s description, the object could be interpreted as a votive liver, and this would imply that there was a temple of Fortuna just inside the walls, perhaps connected with oracular practices.²⁵ Unfortunately, the imprecise context of this lost find does not allow us to say anything certain. Even if the object was a liver, it could be an anatomical votive offering, and it does not necessarily imply that Fortuna at Signia was associated with an oracle, but perhaps with some kind of healing practices. There was probably a sanctuary of Fortuna, but this is also hard to infer with confidence, as in Latium it was not uncommon to offer gifts to any deity in a given sanctuary, and our object could have been offered to Fortuna at a temple of a different god or goddess.

There was a sanctuary of Fortuna on *Mons Algidus* (one of the peaks of modern Monte Artemisio) at the end of third century BC. Livy informs us (21, 62, 8) that in 218 BC a public prayer (*supplicatio*) was dedicated to Fortuna on the Algidus. The celebration of the ritual was ordered after a consultation of the *libri Sibyllini* following a number of prodigies, which occurred shortly after the Roman defeat at the Trebia. Champeaux argued that this circumstance testifies to the importance of the sanctuary, but this is hard to verify.²⁶ Votive deposits were found in the area, but no remains of a sanctuary.²⁷ Moreover, the votive gifts may be offerings to the goddess Diana, who

²² Helbig 1885.

²³ Helbig 1885, 63: ‘una pizza ellittica (. . .) sul cui piano superiore sorgono cinque oggetti piramidali’.

²⁴ CIL 1² 3101. See archaic dative in *-ai*, A with oblique stroke, little O, N with oblique strokes. Champeaux 1982–7, I, 185; Cifarelli-Ambrosini-Nonnis 2002–3, 249.

²⁵ Cifarelli 2012, 378–9.

²⁶ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 184.

²⁷ Ceccarelli-Marroni 2011, 605–6.

was also worshipped on Mount Algidus.²⁸ The prodigy expiated with the *supplicatio* was the shrinking of oracular lots in a sanctuary at Caere, and this indicates that the Roman officials in charge of the expiation of prodigies (the *decemviri sacris faciundis*) made a connection between lots and Fortuna, perhaps having in mind the oracular practices at Praeneste.²⁹

An inscribed block was recently discovered on Monte S. Angelo, in the territory of Villa S. Lucia, between Casinum and Aquinum.³⁰ The inscription commemorates the construction of a water tank by the quaestor Q. Heleius, funded by the treasury of Fortuna (*aere Fortunae* = AE 2007, 334), which must indicate the presence of a sanctuary of Fortuna in the area. Alessandro Betori, the editor of the inscription, argued that the abbreviation *a.f.* on another inscribed stone found in the same site, also related to construction works by Q. Heleius, should read *a(ere) F(ortunae)*.³¹ The architectural complex in which the inscriptions were found is of considerable dimensions, with a trapezoidal shape of about 400 by 200 metres; it is terraced, has polygonal walls and a central structure which might be identified as the podium of a temple. Betori argues that the whole structure must be identified with a monumental temple of Fortuna. His hypothesis is reinforced by the isolated location of the structure, which does not seem to be very appropriate for a settlement. The family name Heleius is also attested in a funerary inscription from Montecassino.³² It seems to me that Betori's reconstruction is convincing, and it finds further confirmation in the only other known use of the expression *aere Fortunai*, which is attested at Praeneste.³³ The site is approximately on the border of the territories of Casinum and Aquinum, a characteristic of several other temples of Fortuna. Q. Helenius from Casinum used construction works in the sanctuary as a form of aristocratic self-advertisement. As I previously argued, this location at the border

²⁸ Hor., *Carm. saec.* 69–72.

²⁹ Orlin (2010, 124) speculated that the sanctuary at Caere belonged to Fortuna herself, but this seems to me an unjustified hypothesis. A generic connection was also supposed by Engels 2007, 428.

³⁰ Betori 2007.

³¹ AE 2007, 334 = AE 1996, 332, which according to Betori must also be identified with CIL 10 5243.

³² CIL 10 5244.

³³ AE 1996, 329 = Gatti 1996. This could be the oldest formula used to imply funding from temples' treasuries, replaced by the expressions *pecuna/stips deorum* in the first century BC. See Panciera 1989–90, esp. 28 n. 90.

of the territory between two towns could point at defensive and protective meanings attributed to the deity.

From Cora we have a dedication to *Fortuna Opsequens*, inscribed on a stone by local magistrates (censors), found near the church of S. Maria della Pietà.³⁴ The presence of censors implies that the inscription predates the Social War, and it has been dated between the second half of the second century BC and the beginning of the first.³⁵ One of the two censors, C. Calvius, was a member of a renowned local family, and an individual with the same name had also been in charge of the construction works for the monumental temple of Castor and Pollux in the town.³⁶ It has been proposed that remains of a temple of Fortuna may be under the church, but this cannot be confirmed in the present state of our knowledge.³⁷ The epithet *opsequens*, ‘accommodating’, makes clear that a positive meaning is attached to the goddess, who is meant to be benevolent. At the same time, this euphemistic epithet evokes the possibility that Fortuna might not be that accommodating. Another offering to *Fortuna Opsequens* may be attested from the Colli Albani area, although the inscription is damaged on top and only the lower part of the first three letters of the name of the goddess can be seen, and that with difficulty.³⁸ It celebrates the approval of an allotment procedure (*probatio*) by a temple keeper (*aeiditimus*).

A late Republican inscription, found at Lavinium in 1961, testifies to the erection of an altar of Fortuna following a decree of the senate (*de senatus sententia*).³⁹ The altar is probably contemporary with a dedication to Fides, also decreed by the senate.⁴⁰ This must be the local senate, attested in a later inscription in which it honoured an ‘Emperor Antoninus’ alongside the people of Lavinium (*senatus populusque Laurens*).⁴¹ Castagnoli argued that Fortuna and Fides in Lavinium must be considered Roman goddesses, but I do not see why this should necessarily be the case, especially because there is no

³⁴ CIL 10 6509 = CIL 1² 1509 = ILLRP 111: *Fortunae Opse[qu(uenti)]/P. Peilius L. f. C. Calvius P. f./cens.*

³⁵ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 185; Palombi 2003, 216; Ceccarelli-Marroni 2011, 129 n. 24.

³⁶ CIL 1² 1506–1507.

³⁷ Palombi 2003, 217; Ceccarelli-Marroni 2011, 135–6.

³⁸ Panciera 1991, no. 36 (photo X, 5): *For[tunae] | Opseq[uent(i)] | C. Genuci(us) C. [f.] | aeiditimus | probavit.*

³⁹ CIL 1² 3038 = AE 1975, 143.

⁴⁰ CIL 1² 3037 = EE 9 585.

⁴¹ CIL 14 2070. On this inscription, see Cooley 2000.

obvious connection between the two goddesses at Rome.⁴² In the context of Lavinium, which had very close religious connections with Rome, it would be tempting to see the introduction of Fides as connected with the treaty between the two towns, which was celebrated every year after the Latin *feriae*.⁴³

In Ostia a temple of Fortuna was dedicated by P. Lucilius Gamala.⁴⁴ Later dedications to Fortuna were found in the town.⁴⁵ P. Lucilius Gamala was a local magistrate active at Ostia in the first century BC whose career as a public benefactor is celebrated by a famous inscription, which as a matter of fact should be dated in the second century AD, although it has certainly been redacted using older material.⁴⁶ Among the activities celebrated in the inscription, Lucilius restored the temple of Vulcanus and built anew four temples dedicated to Venus, Fortuna, Ceres, and Spes. According to Fausto Zevi, the construction of these four temples must be related to the period in which Lucilius was a *pontifex*, and the temples, whose remains are identified with the so-called four temples (*quattro tempietti*) at Ostia, should be dated around the 50s of the first century BC.⁴⁷ The four temples, standing on the same podium, have been considered a group which must have had a conceptual coherence in the way it was conceived by its founder. Fausto Zevi has argued that the four-temple complex was probably connected with the *quaestor Ostiensis*, who had the important job of supervising the transport from Ostia to Rome of the corn destined for public distribution.⁴⁸ According to Zevi, the goddesses of the temples, Fortuna included, must be linked to plenty and the welfare of the community, with particular reference to the public corn distributions. I find this interpretation convincing. If so, it would appear that P. Lucilius Gamala had given a specific meaning to Fortuna at Ostia, creating an original local connection

⁴² Castagnoli 1972, 112.

⁴³ Liv. 8, 11. On Fides and treaties, see Freyburger 1986, esp. 197–200, 236–9.

⁴⁴ CIL 1² 3031a = CIL 14 375 = ILS 6147. On this famous inscription, see Carcopino 1911; C  beillac 1973; Zevi 1973; Gallina Zevi-Humphrey 2004.

⁴⁵ CIL 14 4309 = AE 1909, 211; AE 1912, 86 = CIL 14 4281, AE 1912, 87.

⁴⁶ There is a general consensus in modern scholarship on this point. See Zevi 2004, 50; Panciera 2004; Lo Cascio 2004.

⁴⁷ Zevi 2004, 55 (a proposal of attribution of Lucilius' activities in relation with his *cursus*), 59–60 (chronology of the temples). See now Zevi 2012, esp. 544, where the date is proposed as 65–55 BC.

⁴⁸ Zevi 2012, 543–7.



Fig. 2.2. Emission of Q. Rustius, 19 BC (RIC Augustus 322).

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between her and three other goddesses, and an association between this group of divinities, the quaestorship, and the distribution of grain.

I have left Antium to the end of my analysis of Latium, because the evidence is very late, and it is uncertain whether there was a cult of Fortuna during the Republican period. In the Imperial period there was in the town a famous sanctuary of Fortuna, as well as another minor shrine. The evidence we have is mostly literary, and quite late. The oldest reference to the worship of the goddess at Antium is a poem of Horace (*Carm.* 1, 35). In the poem the goddess is addressed in the singular, and is described as a fickle goddess, but also as a generally benevolent figure, and as the guardian of Augustus' safety during his journeys.⁴⁹ In 19 BC, Q. Rustius minted a coin representing two busts glossed as *Fortunae*, and the second one showing the same two figures with the inscription *Fortunae Antiat(es)* (Fig. 2.2).⁵⁰ We have other literary and epigraphic evidence indicating that the *Fortunae* of Antium were worshipped in the Imperial period.⁵¹ Brendel

⁴⁹ For a detailed commentary, see Arya 2002, 265–74. See also the comments on the passage of the pseudo-Acron: *Aput Antium autem est Fortunae templum famosissimum, multorum etiam principum donis ornatum; unde etiam ciuitas Fortunae ipsius tutela dicta est.* Porphyryon calls the *carmen* *Ad Fortunam quae Anti praecipue colitur* and adds that *Anti Fortuna potentissimi numinis habetur.*

⁵⁰ RIC 1, Augustus 322.

⁵¹ Suetonius reports that, before his death, *Fortunae Antiates* warned Caligula against a Cassius (*Cal.* 57). Speaking about the celebration ordered by Nero and the senate for the birth, at Antium, of his daughter, Tacitus says that golden statues of the *Fortunae* were placed in the Capitol, on the throne of Jupiter (*Ann.* 15, 23). In an epigram addressed to Domitian, Martial refers to *veridicae sorores* learning the emperor's responses (5, 1, 3), which is usually interpreted as an allusion to Antium. The only vague description of the modalities in which the oracle of *Fortunae Antiates*



Fig. 2.3. Statue of two female deities on a couch, from Praeneste.

Photograph by the author. © Polo Museale del Lazio—Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Palestrina e Santuario della Fortuna Primigenia, su concessione del Mibact.

plausibly used the coin of Q. Rustius to interpret a Praenestine statue of two figures on a couch as a representation of the *Fortunae Antiates*: the fact that the figures seem to emerge from the couch probably implies that the group is a representation of the cultic statues of the goddesses (Fig. 2.3).⁵²

Whereas the evidence for these double *Fortunae* is all late, we know from Tacitus of another temple of Fortuna at Antium, where she bore

was working comes from a late source, Macrobius. He says that the oracular responses were determined by the movement of the statues carried in procession on a *ferculum* (Sat. 1, 23, 13). As for epigraphic evidence other than the fragment of pottery discussed here, we have an inscription from the first century AD mentioning *Philetus*, an *aeditus Fortunarum* (CIL 10 6638), and an inscription from Velletri with a dedication *Fortunis Antiaticibus* (CIL 10 6555).

⁵² Brendel 1960; Agnoli 2002, 89–93. See above, ch.1.

the epithet Equestris, and where in AD 22 Roman knights offered a sacrifice (Tac., *Ann.* 3, 71): it is conceivable that some of the references above may refer to this sanctuary. Degrassi noticed that the epigraphic Republican calendar of Antium is the only extant calendar recording the festival of Fortuna Equestris on 13 August. He argued that the reason for this exception could be the presence of a local temple, which would imply that the temple mentioned by Tacitus existed already in the Republican period.⁵³ A recent monograph on Roman Antium by Paola Brandizzi Vittucci also questioned the antiquity of the cult of Fortuna Antiatina, arguing that in the Republican period there might have been only the temple of Fortuna Equestris in the town, which was subsequently 'doubled' to get the Fortuna Antiatinae.⁵⁴

Alessandro Jaia has recently catalogued votive deposits found in the territory of Antium. In one of these deposits, situated under a second-century villa and containing material ranging from the fourth to the second century BC, a painted fragment of pottery bearing the inscription [- - -]une.a[- - -] was found, which Jaia argues might be interpreted as a gift to Fortuna Antiatina.⁵⁵ The type of pottery and the shape of the letters make a third-century date possible. The inscription, however, is too fragmentary to make Jaia's interpretation compelling. No archaeological evidence for temples has been found at Antium because of the strong coastal erosion, but Brandizzi Vittucci argued that a temple might have been on the promontory called Arco Muto on the basis of an eighteenth-century sketch of the area.⁵⁶

In conclusion, with the current state of our knowledge, we could say that the only temple for which we have Republican evidence is that of Fortuna Equestris, and only if one accepts Degrassi's argument and assumes that the entry in the *fasti Antiatinae maiores* refers to a local temple rather than to the Roman shrine of Fortuna Equestris. As we know from Tacitus, in AD 22 this shrine was connected with Roman knights, and one can only speculate the meaning attached to this deity in the period we are working on.

⁵³ Inscr. It. 13, p. 68.

⁵⁴ Brandizzi Vittucci 2000, 62.

⁵⁵ [Fort]une A[ntiatinae], with the -ai of archaic dative simplified into -e. Jaia 2004, 260-2.

⁵⁶ Brandizzi Vittucci 2000, 59.

2.2 CAMPANIA

From Campania we have abundant and varied evidence. One of the oldest pieces of evidence comes from Beneventum, a Latin colony founded in 268 BC. We know of a lost inscription on a bronze tablet mentioning *Fortunai Publicai sacra* (Fig. 2.4), now lost, but seen by Mommsen in a private collection.⁵⁷ The tablet had four holes used to nail it to the votive gift. Ernst Lommatzsch included the inscription amongst those predating the Second Punic War on linguistic and palaeographic grounds.

Jacqueline Champeaux argued that Fortuna Publica at Beneventum must be considered the Latin equivalent of a Greek Tyche of the City (*Τύχη πόλεως*).⁵⁸ She argues that Fortuna Publica appeared in Beneventum before she did at Rome because Campania had more contacts with the Greek world of Magna Graecia, and would have been more familiar with the Greek concept, through a Fortuna worshipped by the Oscan-speaking population. Champeaux believed that the city protected by Fortuna Publica must have been Rome, as Beneventum was a Latin colony, and colonies must have been small-scale reproductions of the city of Rome. Both things are difficult to support. First of all, we do not have clear evidence of a Tyche of the city in third-century Magna Graecia, and recent scholarship tends to

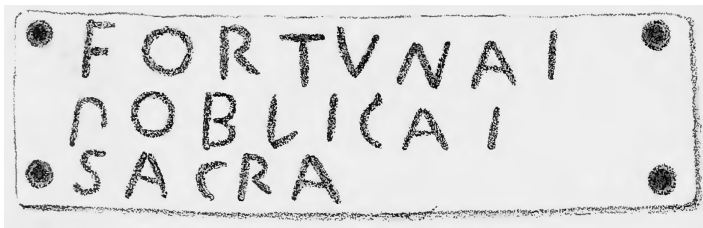


Fig. 2.4. Reproduction of a bronze tablet with dedication to Fortuna from Beneventum.

From Garrucci 1864.

⁵⁷ CIL 1² 397 = CIL 9 1543 = ILS 3681 = ILLRP 112.

⁵⁸ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 185; II, 62–4. For a discussion of Fortuna Publica at Rome, see ch.4.

believe that Tychai of cities developed at a later stage.⁵⁹ Secondly, in recent years scholarship has successfully questioned the model of colonies as faithful reproductions of the city of Rome, underlining the importance of the local element, especially (although not exclusively) from a religious point of view.⁶⁰ Moreover, Champeaux assumed that Fortuna Publica at Rome must be identified with Fortuna Primigenia, whose temple was vowed by P. Sempronius Tuditanus in 204 BC and dedicated on the Quirinal by Q. Marcius Ralla in 194 BC.⁶¹ This has been convincingly refuted by Adam Ziolkowski: although the temples of Fortuna Primigenia and Fortuna Publica at Rome were adjacent to one another on the Quirinal they must be distinguished, with the date of the construction of the latter temple to be placed between 292 and 218 BC, corresponding to the gap of Livy's second decade.⁶² In her discussion of Fortuna Publica at Beneventum, Marina Torelli argued that the goddess must be inextricably linked with the Roman presence in the area, and the expectations of the colonists with regard to the affirmation of Roman power.⁶³

The evidence on deities in Republican Beneventum shows a mixture of local innovations and Roman traditions. We have a very limited body of sacred inscriptions from Republican Beneventum: one is a dedication on a lost stone to Juno Quiritis by the local consul, C. Falcilius, which should be more or less contemporary with that of Fortuna Publica.⁶⁴ Juno Quiritis/Cur(r)itis was also worshipped at Falerii, Tibur, and Rome, but the chronological relationship between these three cult places is controversial.⁶⁵ The second is a late Republican dedication to Vesta by a certain M. Ursius, on a small column found in the church of S. Agostino in 1904.⁶⁶ The goddess Vesta in this context is quite significant, because we do not know of any other similar inscribed gifts to the goddess in the Republican period.⁶⁷ Generally speaking, all three goddesses known to be worshipped in

⁵⁹ See ch.6. ⁶⁰ See, in particular, Bispham 2006; Coles 2009.

⁶¹ Liv. 29, 36; 34, 53.

⁶² Ziolkowski 1992, 40–5. The Roman temples will be discussed in ch.4.

⁶³ Torelli 2003, 85–96.

⁶⁴ CIL 1² 396 = ILLRP 169. Torelli 2003, 83–5.

⁶⁵ Rome: *Fasti Antiatres Maiores* and *Arvaes* (7 October, *Inscr. It.* 13, 2, p. 518). Falerii: Dion. Hal. 1, 21; Ov., *Amor.* 111, 13. Tibur: Servius, *ad Aen.* 1, 17. See the discussion in Ziolkowski 1992, 62–7.

⁶⁶ CIL 1² 3193. Torelli 2003, 96–7.

⁶⁷ The only other evidence are two *pocula*: CIL 1² 452 (Lanuvium), 2884 (Carsoli). See also Granino Cecere 2003.

Republican Beneventum seem to have connections with Latium, except Juno Quiritis, who might be of Faliscan origin.⁶⁸ The dedication to Vesta seems to be a local innovation, as this is not the way the goddess was worshipped in Latium. It is perhaps hazardous to strike a balance with such a limited body of evidence, but it would appear that, in spite of a Latin religious background, there were also innovations. It is, therefore, not wise to view Fortuna Publica as necessarily Roman, or as inspired by the Roman politics of the region. The problem of the relative chronology with the Roman temple cannot be resolved, but it seems reasonable to think that the Fortuna Publica at Beneventum might also refer to Beneventum rather than to Rome only.⁶⁹

At Capua there was certainly a temple of Fortuna, at least from the third century BC. Livy mentions that the wall of the temple was struck by lightning during the Hannibalic War, in 209 BC (27, 11, 2) and again in 208 BC (27, 23, 2), along with the temple of Mars and some tombs.⁷⁰ If the prodigies of 208 BC refer to a single episode we could envisage extra-urban sanctuaries of Fortuna and Mars, which would indicate a similar situation to that of Tusculum. Capua had held Roman citizenship without voting rights (*civitas sine suffragio*) since c.338 BC and, after defecting to Hannibal after Cannae and being recaptured by the Romans, it was transformed into a prefecture. The association between Fortuna and Mars, and the location of the sanctuaries outside the city walls, might suggest a defensive meaning attributed to the couple.

We also have two monetary issues, dated by Rutter at the time of the Hannibalic War (216–211 BC), showing a female head wearing a turreted crown⁷¹. A similar type also appears on contemporary Roman coinage.⁷² According to Champeaux, following Heurgon, both types should derive from a Syracusan prototype representing Tyche.⁷³ In Rome and Capua the same type would have been interpreted in radically different ways: in Capua as a Hellenized Fortune of the city, minted to affirm its sovereignty in relation to Rome, and at Rome as a mere personification of the city. Without any inscription clearly identifying the figures on the types there can be only speculation on

⁶⁸ The goddess was allegedly 'evoked' at Rome before the capture of Falerii Veteres in 241 BC, but this is a modern scholarly reconstruction. See Ziolkowski 1992, 62–7.

⁶⁹ For a discussion of the early Fortuna Publica, see ch.4.

⁷⁰ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 188–9. Engels 2007, 464–5; 468–9.

⁷¹ *HN Italy* 485, 490. ⁷² *RRC* 39/5.

⁷³ Champeaux 1982–7, II, 64–7 cf. Heurgon 1942, 214, 222–4.

how they should be interpreted, and the turreted crown is an iconographic element which is too generic to make the identification with Tyche certain. I have argued elsewhere that several coin types of this period were popular and used by different towns and communities, including Rome, but this does not necessarily imply that they were directly inspired by Roman models. Moreover, in most cases, it is difficult to see whether or not the iconography of the types is related to local deities.⁷⁴ In conclusion, it is unclear whether or not the Roman and Capuan coin types should be identified as representations of Tyche. Even if they were, they may not have had anything to do with local religions, and in any case we are not in a position to determine the precise meaning which was attributed to them.

We know that Fortuna was worshipped at Capua still in the late Republican period, because of an inscribed stone mentioning *magistri Spei Fidei Fortunae*, and dated in the consulship of M. Minucius and S. Postumius (110 BC).⁷⁵ This belongs to the famous set of inscribed documents of the *magistri Campani*. These documents are dated by consular years between 111 and 71 BC, and they record lists of individuals, followed by the formula 'these officials' in the dative of agency (*heisce magistris*), which is meant to summarize the preceding list, sometimes one or more names of deities in the genitive or dative case, the specification of the work of public interest sponsored by the *magistri* (construction works or public games), and finally the Roman consular date. Many complicated issues arise from the interpretation of these texts with regard to the administration of Capua, but it is clear that the *magistri* were wealthy individuals, most probably merchants and in some cases freedmen, in charge of the maintenance of public buildings (temples in particular) and games.⁷⁶ It is enough to recall here the widespread belief that in the Roman prefecture of Capua the *magistri* were filling a significant power vacuum in the local community. It has also been argued that the function of euergetism exercised by the *magistri* in the territory of Capua might have existed even before the Roman reorganization of the town, and traces of similar organizations can be found also in Oscan inscriptions.⁷⁷ As far as our inscription goes, the connection between Capuan *magistri* and Fortuna seems to be an attempt by members of the local elite

⁷⁴ Miano 2015b. ⁷⁵ CIL 1² 674 = CIL 10 3775 = ILLRP 707.

⁷⁶ See Heurgon 1939; Frederiksen 1959; Pobjoy 2000; Sacchi 2012.

⁷⁷ Sacchi 2012, 285–8.

to associate themselves and their community with the goddess. Connections with Spes and Fides are not unprecedented for Fortuna (we have already found them in Ostia and Lavinium), but connecting them in a triad is a local innovation. Therefore, we can see that, in Capua, Fortuna was given different meanings between the third and the first centuries BC. She had an extra-urban sanctuary next to a temple of Mars in which she probably had a protective role, as we have seen in other instances from Latium (Tusculum, Praeneste). If the representation on the coin type of the Hannibalic War is to be identified with Fortuna, we would have the goddess included as a symbol of the town at a very public level—although I remain sceptical of this interpretation. Finally, in the late Republican period, Capuan local communities were worshipping the goddess in a triad with Fides and Spes. In one hundred years we can notice a significant development from the mid Republican Fortuna associated with Mars to the later Fortuna associated with Spes and Fides, which probably responded better to the more peaceful situation in Italy in 110 BC. It was also a group of conceptual deities which more effectively celebrated the euergetism of the *magistri* active in local communities.

We know from Strabo that in Campania, during the Augustan period, there were two Fortunes (Tychai) on the border between the territories of Cales and Teanum, on each side of the Via Latina.⁷⁸ From the passage it is not possible to infer whether these Tychai should be interpreted as two temples or two statues of Fortuna. Champeaux supposed that these cults might relate to a pre-Roman goddess worshipped in Oscan, later identified with Fortuna.⁷⁹ Her argument is that two cult places marking the border between the territories of the two towns made sense only before they fell under Roman domination. I do not think, however, that this is very compelling, if we consider that we have no evidence of an Oscan equivalent of Fortuna, and that Cales was a Latin colony from 334 BC.⁸⁰ Given the lack of information on this cult place, it does not seem useful to me to indulge in possible reconstructions (two statues? two

⁷⁸ 5, 4, 11: Πρὸς δὲ ταῖς ῥηθείσαις ἔτι καὶ αὗται Καμπαναὶ πόλεις εἰσὶν ὧν ἐμνήσθημεν πρότερον, Κάλης τε καὶ Τέανον Σιδικίνον, ἃς διορίζουσιν αἱ δύο Τύχαι ἐφ' ἑκάτερα ἰδρυμέναι τῆς Λατίνης οδοῦ. This might be the same place where Scipio and Sulla met according to Cic., *Phil.* 12, 11 and App., *Bell. Civ.* 1, 85.

⁷⁹ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 187–8. Followed by Torelli 2003, 87.

⁸⁰ Liv. 8, 16; Vell. 1, 14.

sanctuaries? a single sanctuary with two Fortunae?). There is, however, as in the cases of Casinum-Aquinum and Fortuna Muliebris at Rome, a sanctuary of Fortuna marking a territorial border.

2.3 EVIDENCE FROM ELSEWHERE IN ITALY

Evidence from the rest of Italy is scarcer, but it shows that Fortuna was no less varied. We know of a *pocolom* dedicated to Fortuna, allegedly from Otranto (Fig. 2.5).⁸¹ This object presents several problems of interpretation. First of all, it is uncertain what was the

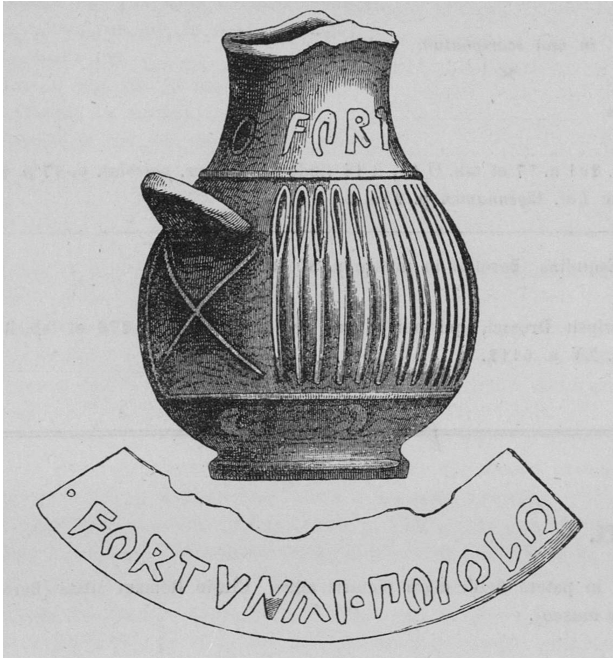


Fig 2.5. Reproduction of the *pocolom* dedicated to Fortuna, possibly from Otranto.

From CIL 1².

⁸¹ CIL 1² 443 = ILLRP 113 = 9 258 = ILS 2961: *Fortunai pocolo(m)*.



Map 2.2. Places where the worship of Fortuna is attested outside of Latium and Campania.

Made by the author using Antiquity À-la-carte. © Ancient World Mapping Centre.

function of *pocula*, pottery of various shapes bearing the inscription 'pocolom + name of a god in the genitive', usually dated in the early third century BC. What makes the interpretation of this kind of item particularly difficult is that they are not mentioned in any literary source, and that they have been found in very diverse contexts, both sacred and funerary. According to Morel and Coarelli, these objects were ordered by sanctuaries and manufactured as souvenirs, which the visitors to the temples could buy.⁸² Peruzzi also speculated that *pocola* might have been used in ritual feasts, in which they would symbolize the drink offered to the gods.⁸³ The find-spots are mostly in Latium and Etruria, and our *Fortunai pocolo(m)* is therefore quite exceptional in this regard, as it is supposed to come from the environs of Otranto. As a matter of fact the provenance is far from certain. The *pocolom* was first published in 1883 in CIL 9, under the entry 'uncertain finds from Calabria' (*Calabriae incertae*). The drawing of the *pocolom* was complemented by a description by Wolfgang Helbig, in which he reported, in a very equivocal manner, the information transmitted by his source that the object came from Otranto.⁸⁴ By the type of pottery (*petites estampilles*) we can date the object fairly precisely in the first decades of the third century BC.⁸⁵ The provenance of the piece is peculiar, as Otranto was at the time an extremely marginal area for the diffusion of Latin language, in the midst of a mostly Messapic-speaking region with substantial Greek contacts. If the provenance of the piece is correct, one could see in the *pocolom* an instance in which Fortuna translates Tyche. As I shall discuss in a later chapter, the earliest dedication to Tyche from Magna Graecia is a joint offering to Demeter, Kora, and Agathe Tyche inscribed on a bronze tablet from the sanctuary of Demeter at Herakleia in Lucania (late fourth to early third centuries BC).⁸⁶ In the Messapic area there is particularly strong evidence for the diffusion of the cult of Demeter, with a series of funerary inscriptions documenting priestesses of the goddess already from the fifth century BC. De Simone has argued

⁸² Morel 1973. See most recently the discussion of David Nonnis in Cifarelli-Ambrosini-Nonnis 2002–3, 280–96; 314–19 for a complete catalogue.

⁸³ Peruzzi 1998, 23–40.

⁸⁴ CIL 9 258: *Repertum dicitur in provincia Hydruntina probabiliter, cum plura similia vascula eius provinciae necropoles dederint.*

⁸⁵ Cifarelli-Ambrosini-Nonnis 2002–3, 280–1.

⁸⁶ SEG 30 1164, and ch.6.

that this religious influence probably comes from the Doric area of Tarentum, which also includes Heraklea.⁸⁷ Not far away from Otranto was the town of Veste, with the important sanctuary of Demeter at Monte Papalucio.⁸⁸ In conclusion, if our *pocolom* actually comes from the region, one could imagine a Messapian travelling to a sanctuary of Fortuna in central Italy, and translating Fortuna as Tyche, perhaps because of connections with the popular cult of Demeter, or, on the contrary, someone from central Italy bringing the object with him to Otranto.

A late Republican inscription on a stone reused as a building block for the theatre commemorates a votive dedication to Fors Fortuna by L. Gavius in Scolacium, a Roman colony founded in 123 BC.⁸⁹ Baldacci speculated that the person offering the dedication might be the L. Gavius mentioned in two letters of Cicero as a man connected to Brutus who was nominated praefectus by Cicero (*Att.* 6, 1, 4; 6, 3, 6), but this is very hypothetical and Deggrasi did not support the hypothesis in his edition.⁹⁰ Spadea has recently imagined that L. Gavius might have been a rich merchant from Campania.⁹¹ The name Gavius, in any case, is too common to support any theory on the origin of this specific individual. Fors Fortuna is only attested at Rome, where she had several temples, and in Tifernum Mataurense.⁹²

Coming to Tifernum, in the territory of the *municipium* (modern S. Angelo in Vado), an inscribed stone broken in three parts testifies to the worship of Fors Fortuna, the Lares, and the Genius of the local *ordo decurionum*, the local senate.⁹³ The stone was reused as an altar for the medieval church of San Martino in Morsina, so we are not in a position to identify the original context. Palaeography and formulae suggest a first-century date. It is thought that the dedication was offered by a public slave (*vilicus p[ublicus]*?), whose name is not preserved in the text. Although Fors Fortuna is otherwise attested only at Rome and Scolacium, we can see that here she is employed in a completely original way, showing fresh associations with the Lares and the rare *Genius ordinis*. The connection with the *Genius ordinis*

⁸⁷ De Simone 1982, 177–97.

⁸⁸ D'Andria 1990, 239–40; Matronuzzi 2008, 137–53.

⁸⁹ CIL 1² 3165, cf. Vell. 1, 15. ⁹⁰ Baldacci 1969–70.

⁹¹ Spadea 2005, 40–1. ⁹² See ch.3–4.

⁹³ AE 2004, 539 = Catani-Monacchi 2004, 43–57.

seems to document, in particular, a strong interest in Fors Fortuna by the local elite.

In Umbria we have evidence for a peculiar epithet of Fortuna: *Melior*. The oldest document is an inscribed stone, reused in the walls of the church of S. Luca in Montefalco, about 16 kilometres from Spolegium, bearing an inscription testifying to an offering to Fortuna *Melior* by a certain Vetena, daughter of Vibius.⁹⁴ Picuti, who published the inscription, believes that the stone, together with other Roman material reused in the church, must come from the immediate vicinity of the building. Therefore, we probably have another case of an extra urban place of cult. The family name Vetena is Etruscan, and the forename Vibius was also particularly popular in Etruria.⁹⁵ Palaeography suggests that the inscription should be dated between the late second and the early first century BC.⁹⁶ The name of the goddess is abbreviated as *For(tuna) Mel(ior)*, and this probably suggests a good degree of local familiarity with the name. In Umbria, Fortuna *Melior* will become a very popular goddess in the Imperial period, and we have epigraphic evidence from other towns in the region.⁹⁷ Picuti argued that the regional specificity of this epithet implies that Fortuna *Melior* might have been the Latin name resulting from the Romanization of a local goddess.⁹⁸ Spolegium was a Latin colony founded in 241 BC, whose inhabitants were probably a mixture of locals and foreign colonists,⁹⁹ and the religious history of the region offers elements of continuity and discontinuity.¹⁰⁰ Given the complexity of the situation at a regional level, and the scarcity of information that we have on Fortuna *Melior*, it seems impossible to confirm or deny Picuti's hypothesis. However, it is unnecessary to imagine that Fortuna *Melior* is the Latin name of an Umbrian goddess: we have no evidence of any Umbrian god or goddess called *Melior*, and, except for her epithet, there does not seem to be

⁹⁴ AE 2001, 925 = Picuti 1998, 188–93.

⁹⁵ Picuti 1998, 192. Picuti argues that Vibius is an Oscan name, but see Salomies 1987, 158.

⁹⁶ Picuti 1998, 193. The author points, in particular, to the shape of the M with oblique strokes.

⁹⁷ CIL 11 4216 (Interamna Nahars), 4116 (Narnia), 4770 (Spolegium), 4391 (Ameria).

⁹⁸ Picuti 1998, 209–10.

⁹⁹ Vell. 1, 14; Liv., *per.* 20. Bradley 2000, 134–5.

¹⁰⁰ Bradley 2000, 177–8.

anything unusual about the deity. Moreover, although the epithet is not attested elsewhere, it does not seem to be very eccentric: *melior*, 'better', is a comparative of *bonus*, 'good', whose superlative *optimus*, 'the best', is the best-known epithet of Capitoline Jupiter.¹⁰¹ I am therefore inclined to think that the inhabitants of Spoletium wanted to give their Fortuna a well-defined and distinguished local identity, innovating within the Latin tradition. Not unlike *opsequens*, 'accommodating', *melior* could have a euphemistic tone: if Fortuna is better, this implies that it can potentially be worse.

A Pacenia Frema from Patavium dedicated a small altar to Fortuna in the late Republic.¹⁰² Not much can be said about the context of this inscribed altar: the inscription is reported in a brief note by Ettore Ghislanzoni, who says that it was found during construction works in the seminary which gives its name to the Via del Seminario.¹⁰³ The *cognomen* Frema is Venetic, and the dedication, according to Bassignano, represents evidence for what she calls the 'religious Romanization' of Patavium.¹⁰⁴ Later evidence attests the popularity of Fortuna in the town during the Imperial period.¹⁰⁵ Along these lines, Sara Boccioni has recently argued that Fortuna in the region might be the Latin name for a local Celtic or Venetic goddess.¹⁰⁶ This seems to me unnecessary: although at Patavium we have the most northerly evidence attesting the worship of Fortuna in the Republican period, there is no reason why it should be inherently unlikely that the goddess was worshipped in her own right, without being identified with a local goddess.

The modern-day town Fano, on the Adriatic coast, was called *Fanum*,¹⁰⁷ or *Fanum Fortunae*, literally 'Temple of Fortune'.¹⁰⁸ The latter expression is not attested before the early Imperial period, where a colony was founded, probably on the site of a previous settlement. The earliest source is Strabo, who mentions a place with this name (5, 2, 10: τὸ ἑρὸν τῆς Τύχης) in a list of towns near Camerinum, on the former border between Italy and Cisalpine

¹⁰¹ Picuti 1998, 187–8. ¹⁰² CIL 1² 2821.

¹⁰³ E. Ghislanzoni, *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità* (1926), p. 356: 'Negli scavi per il nuovo quartiere in Vanzo e precisamente nel terreno degli Armeni, presso il Seminario (...).'

¹⁰⁴ Bassignano 2006, 437.

¹⁰⁵ Boccioni 2006, esp. 76–7. ¹⁰⁶ Boccioni 2006, 84–6.

¹⁰⁷ Caes., BC 1, 11, 4 (simply *Fanum*); Vitr. 5, 1, 6; Mela 2, 64: they both call the town *colonia Iulia Fanestris*, the official name of the Augustan colony.

¹⁰⁸ Plin., *NH* 3, 113; Tacit., *Hist.* 3, 50; Claudian 28, 500–5.

*se cedues perdere nolo ne ceduas fortuna servios perit.*¹¹¹

If you will obey (me), I will not ruin (you), if you will not obey (me), (remember that) because of Fortuna Servius is (or was) ruined (translation adapted from Guarducci¹¹²).

Palaeographic and linguistic arguments caused the scholars who worked on this object to date the inscription between the late fourth and the early third century BC.¹¹³ For Margherita Guarducci, the original editor, and all subsequent scholars, the text must be connected with the tradition of Servius Tullius as a lover of Fortuna: he would be mentioned in the text as a typical example of an individual linked to Fortuna.¹¹⁴ Guarducci argued that the part of the text concerning Servius may come from an ancient poem singing the deeds of the king, and, if it was popular enough to be included in an inscription of this kind, which probably does not come from Rome, the tradition may be considerably more ancient than 300 BC.¹¹⁵ However, Scevola Mariotti has shown that to scan the text of this inscription according to a metre is extremely difficult and can hardly be done with plausibility.¹¹⁶ Guarducci also argued that the lot should come from a sanctuary of Fortuna, and the text represents an oracular response directly from the goddess.¹¹⁷ Prosdocimi recently disputed this, arguing that the text shows a negative aspect of the power of Fortuna, a whimsical force able to ruin those faithful to her, and that it is quite possible that the inscription does not come from a sanctuary of Fortuna.¹¹⁸ Letta has defended Guarducci's interpretation, arguing that the text compels the reader to obey the orders of Fortuna.¹¹⁹

¹¹¹ Guarducci 1951, 27. For the reading *ne*, see Prosdocimi 2002, 487, 516. Prosdocimi partially revised and enhanced the interpretation of the text given in Peruzzi 1959.

¹¹² Guarducci 1960, 52: 'Se (mi) obbedirai, non (ti) voglio rovinare, se non (mi) obbedisci, (ricordati che) per opera della Fortuna Servio va (o andò) in rovina.' For alternative translations, see Mariotti 1959: 'Se ti sottometti, non (ti) rovinerò, se non ti sottometti alla Fortuna, Servio va (andò?) in rovina'; Prosdocimi 2002, 517: 'Se (ti) dai (/cedi?) sei perduto, non darti affatto a(lla) Fortuna: per causa di Fortuna (cui si è dato/ha ceduto) Servio andò in rovina' or 'Se (ti) dai sei perduto, non darti affatto a(lla) Fortuna: Servio andò in rovina (per essersi dato/aver ceduto?) a(lla) Fortuna'; Letta 2004, 43: 'Ammettiamo pure che tu non ti pieghi (a me): (ricordati che) per opera di Fortuna Servio andò in Rovina' (for the second part of the text).

¹¹³ Guarducci 1951, 24; Peruzzi 1959, 215; Prosdocimi 2002, 478.

¹¹⁴ Guarducci 1951, 29–31.

¹¹⁵ Guarducci 1951, 32.

¹¹⁶ Mariotti 1959; Prosdocimi 2002, 495.

¹¹⁷ Guarducci 1972, 188–9, where she proposed Fanum Fortunae.

¹¹⁸ Prosdocimi 2002, 518–19.

¹¹⁹ Letta 2004, 44.

There are two points worthy of discussion. The first is whether or not the Servius mentioned in the text should necessarily be identified with King Servius Tullius, as all the interpreters of the lot have suggested. Servius is perhaps not the most common *praenomen*, but it is not rare enough to make a reference to the king absolutely obvious. The risk of producing circular arguments is great, and we do not have many similarly inscribed lots to compare our text with: none of the lots inscribed in Latin that we have bears a personal name, or the name of a god, and we have no close chronological parallel, as all other lots in Latin are late Republican.¹²⁰ Given these circumstances, I think it is wise to keep an open mind on the identity of our Servius ruined by Fortune. We know two ancient etymologies of the name Servius, and both relate it to very unfortunate circumstances.¹²¹ It is possible that the name had stereotypical connections with bad luck, which made it possible for the author of the inscribed text to use it to indicate an unlucky individual. This in turn leads to the question of the identity of *fortuna* in our text. The word has been unanimously interpreted as the name of the goddess because of her connection with the legend of Servius, but if the alternative explanation is accepted this should also be called into question, and the inscription could be the earliest evidence for the common word *fortuna*. Given the oracular nature of the text, it is even possible that the author of the text wanted to play with the strong association between the concept and the goddess, so that the reader of the oracle could opt between different interpretations of the response.

The final question is the pertinence of the lot to a sanctuary (of Fortuna?). This is a question which it is impossible to answer with any certainty, considering that we have no idea of the archaeological context in which the lot of Fiesole was originally found. We know that in Italy there were many professional, itinerant soothsayers,

¹²⁰ ILLRP 1070–1087. On Etruscan lots, on the other hand, divine names were very common: Maggiani 2005, but see also Klingshirn 2006, esp. 140–2. We know of a lot from Falerii, whose text has been transmitted by Livy, bearing the name of a god (22, 1): *Mavors telum suum concutit*. Other than that, one can see that this text also does not have much to do with the inscription on the lot of Fiesole.

¹²¹ In the *Liber de praenominibus* (6), Servius is said to come from the fact that the baby survived (*servatus*) the death of the mother during childbirth. Priscian (2, 135, 13) explains Servius as ‘the slave of a slave’ (*servus servi*).

including lot diviners.¹²² The lot may come from any sanctuary (not necessarily one of Fortuna), or it might have been part of the collection of an itinerant diviner.

In conclusion, this chapter has shown the variety of meanings associated with the goddess Fortuna in Italy. As for the geographical diffusion of Fortuna, it is clear that the most ancient evidence comes from Latium, and then from Campania, the region which had the earliest significant contacts with Latium in the mid Republican period. Moreover, all the evidence is in the Latin language. These circumstances strongly suggest that Fortuna was connected with the diffusion of the Latin language. Outside Latium and Campania, Fortuna was worshipped mostly in Latin or Roman colonies (Spoletium, Scolacium, Fanum?). So, was the diffusion of Fortuna in Italy related to Roman colonization? In a strictly geographical sense it may be so, but there are elements that count against an excessively 'institutional' interpretation of the diffusion of Fortuna outside Latium and Campania. First of all, the *pocolom* from ancient Calabria would confirm the exceptional importance of individual devotion for the diffusion of Fortuna. Also relevant in this connection are two (out of three) gifts offered by women, Vetena from Spoletium and Pacenia Frema from Patavium: both have distinctively non-Latin names, the first Etruscan and the second Venetic.

It is clear from the above discussion that the places of worship of Fortuna were extremely varied in their location. At Gabii, Cora, Signia, and Patavium, the goddess was worshipped inside the town. At Tusculum and Capua the places of worship were just outside the walls. In other instances, the sanctuaries were located in the countryside, as at Mons Algidus, Monte S. Angelo, Cales/Teaenum, and, perhaps, Spoletium. We can notice a certain prevalence of border areas between the territories of different states: the cult place at Signia was probably just inside the city walls; at Tusculum and Capua the sanctuaries of the goddess were probably just outside the walls; a cult place was situated on the border between the territories of Cales and Teaenum, and a monumental temple was more or less on the

¹²² In a recent essay, Klingshirn (2006, 138) has argued that, in the mid Republican period, lot divination occurred mostly at sanctuaries, and specialized itinerant diviners called *sortilegi* originated only in the late Republican period. Whether or not lot sortition was practised by a specialized diviner called *sortilegus* or by other types of diviners, however, there can be no doubt that it was widely practised also in the mid Republican period.

border between the territories of Casinum and Aquinum. The connection between Fortuna and borders must be significant, and in some of these instances the goddess might have had a role in protection from external threats.

One should also notice the diversity of people offering gifts to Fortuna, expressing a variety of interpretations of the conceptual deity. We are not always in a position to determine the different semantic nuances of Fortuna, but, when we are able to do so, we can notice great differences. Three elements seem essential to the conceptual analysis: the content of the sources themselves, the context, and how Fortuna is grouped with other deities. If we possess all three elements we are in a good position to determine the different meanings given to the goddess. In other cases also, one or two of these elements can be enough to give us an approximate idea.

In some cases we have city institutions offering gifts, like the public prayer offered on behalf of the Roman people to Fortuna on the Algidus, the offering of an altar by the senate at Lavinium, the gift from the public slave linked to the local senate at Tifernum, and that offered to Fortuna Publica at Beneventum. One can assume that in these cases the institutions wanted to create a connection between themselves and their community and Fortuna—and Fortuna Publica at Beneventum is also relevant in this regard. As for the public prayer on the Algidus of 218 BC, one should notice that the connection between the prodigy of the lots at Caere and the offering to Fortuna clearly presupposed a stereotypical connection between the goddess and lot sortition that at the time of Cicero was peculiar to Praeneste. I have observed how, at Lavinium, the peculiar connection established between Fortuna and Fides might be read as a reference to the relationship with Rome. The connection between the *ordo decurionum* and Fors Fortuna at Tifernum is expressed in a very innovative way, through a joint dedication from a public slave to Fors Fortuna, the Lares, and the Genius of the *ordo*, which creates an extremely strong association between the goddess and the local senate.

In other cases the evidence shows members of local elites constructing connections with Fortuna, like M. Furius at Tusculum, the quaestor Q. Heleius near Casinum, the censor C. Calvius at Cora, and P. Lucilius Gamala at Ostia. One can think of the way in which M. Furius associated Fortuna with Mars in an offering of military spoils, placed outside the city walls. The content of the inscribed text, the context, and the association between Fortuna and Mars create a

very strong impression of Fortuna as a protective goddess in a military sense. P. Lucilius Gamala gave a completely different interpretation of Fortuna, putting the goddess in a four-temple complex with Venus, Ceres, and Spes, in an area of the town which was probably connected with the quaestor in charge of corn distribution, conveying a meaning of the conceptual goddess which was closer to ideas of plenty and welfare. This shows how individual members of the local elite were not only happy to associate themselves with Fortuna, but also eager to attribute distinctive meanings to the goddess in order to make her fit their needs better.

We have a number of gifts offered by individuals of various status, categories, and genders. Some of them were probably wealthy merchants, like L. Gavius, who offered a gift to Fors Fortuna in Scolacium, and the *magistri* of Capua. The latter are particularly interesting because they belonged to a collegial association with connections to local communities. As I have observed, joining Fortuna with Fides and Spes in a triad was not only very original, but also created a certain meaning of Fortuna which was well suited to promote local euergetism. Free women also offered gifts to Fortuna, although we do not have enough information to determine the details and the context of their offerings. We can say little about Vetena, Pacenia Frema, and Oppia from Gabii other than that the circumstances of the gifts to Fortuna were very different. Vetena made hers in the rural sanctuary near the Latin colony of Spoletium, Pacenia Frema in a Venetic town, and Oppia, probably a noblewoman, in a town of Old Latium.

From this chapter the local specificity of Fortuna emerges very clearly. Different places, times, contexts, and circumstances produced a great variety of different meanings of the goddess, from the Umbrian Fortuna Melior to all the unique associations between Fortuna and other deities that we have encountered throughout Italy. This multiplicity is probably the expression of the flexibility and the variety of meanings of the concept of Fortuna. Another possible explanation for this variety would be that under the name 'Fortuna' we encounter in Italy a variety of meanings, modified by the many contexts in which they are approached by agents, all translated into Latin as Fortuna. However, although in some cases it is not implausible to imagine that Fortuna is a translation (as with the case of Otranto), the strong limit of this hypothesis is that all our evidence is in Latin, and we have no trace of these processes of translation. One must conclude, I believe, that Fortuna was a Latin conceptual deity, and the variety of the expressions

we encounter in the peninsula is connected with the multifariousness of the concept in Latin. In spite of the variety of the evidence and the local innovations, however, there are some recurring meanings and characteristics of the evidence which point to local differences within a definite semantic range. One could cite the frequent location of places of worship of Fortuna near the city walls or the borders of territories, probably expressing defensive or protective meanings associated with the goddess, or recurring association with gods and goddesses, such as Mars (Praeneste, Tusculum, Capua)—expressing again a connection with the military sphere—and Fides (Capua, Lavinium)—which represents an optimistic attitude to the power of Fortuna. Some epithets of the goddess like *Opsequens* and *Melior* seem to have a euphemistic tone: together with the lot of Fiesole and its veiled threat, they could express the potential of Fortuna to attract negative meanings of instability and accident.

I must concede that methods associated with conceptual history have not always been at the forefront of my arguments in the course of this chapter. The main reason is that the documents dealt with in this section are frequently fragmentary, brief, and isolated. Whereas one can discuss more successfully the range of concepts beyond a more complex document like the lot of Servius, it has not always been the case for other pieces of evidence. It is frequently contextual information such as the names and the nature of the agents that performed cultic acts, or the topographical location of sanctuaries that reveal certain meanings associated with the goddess, which were determined by and expressed such contexts. A conceptual approach has been nevertheless useful to map the different meanings of Fortuna and appreciate them within a definite semantic range.

Archaic Rome

Ancient sources tell us that a certain number of temples of Fortuna at Rome were founded in the archaic period, and that Fortuna was considered a very ancient goddess. A particularly strong connection exists between Fortuna and King Servius Tullius, who is said to have founded a score of temples dedicated to the goddess in the middle decades of the sixth century BC. In the early Republic another temple of Fortuna is said to have been founded in the early fifth century BC, in connection with the story of C. Marcius Coriolanus. The sources on archaic Rome, however, are notoriously problematic: the oldest extended narratives we have are the accounts of Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, both written in the late first century BC. Livy and Dionysius mostly based their work on accounts of previous writers, whose texts have not been transmitted to us, and whom we know of only from quotations by other authors (fragments).¹ The oldest of these earlier historians, in any case, wrote their works in the third century BC. Whether or not they had any reliable information on events that had happened centuries before they lived, and where they got it from (private and public archives? inscriptions?), are matters open to question. Some modern scholars tend to be moderately optimistic on the reliability of the general outline of early Roman history, although the lateness of the sources offers serious challenges to our understanding of the period.² Tim Cornell has argued that we

¹ Detailed introduction, edition, and commentary of individual historians in *FRHist*.

² The reference work is Cornell 1995 (1–30 for an introduction to the main sources). See also Momigliano-Schiavone 1988; *The Cambridge Ancient History* VII.2, Cambridge 1990²; for a more sceptical point of view, see Forsythe 2005, who, however, also accepts as relatively reliable a fair amount of the basic outline of the narrative transmitted by later sources.

can be fairly confident about several structural facts, which were then rhetorically augmented and embellished, an operation which certainly also implied a great deal of mere invention.³ This makes essential the close analysis of the ancient sources on a case-by-case basis.

The aim of this chapter is to discuss the sources on Fortuna in archaic Rome, and consider if and to what extent they can be considered reliable, and what we can learn about the meanings attributed to the goddess in this challenging period. I shall address several questions. How should one view the information about Fortuna? Is it the invention of historians and antiquarians, or is there more to it? Do we have sound reasons to believe that Fortuna was worshipped in archaic Rome, and, if so, how and where? What does Fortuna mean in archaic Rome? I shall first of all analyse the sources on Fortuna and Servius Tullius, and then I shall look at the evidence for archaic temples of Fortuna at Rome.

Servius is the sixth king of Rome according to the traditional story, and our sources attribute to him a great number of reforms essential to the Roman state.⁴ Varying traditions existed on his life and his origins. Our most extensive sources, Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, say that he was born in the house of King Tarquin the Elder, to a captive noblewoman from Corniculum.⁵ According to Livy, this girl was saved from slavery because of her noble background, but in the historical tradition the king was widely considered to be born from a slave, to the extent that Livy in other passages contradicts himself to adapt his account to the common opinion.⁶ We also read of omens which occurred when Servius was a child, and of stories that his father was a god.⁷ He was the favourite of Tanaquil, the wife of Tarquin, and the queen is said to have played an important role to help Servius take power after the death of the previous king.⁸ Servius was murdered in a plot by the son of Tarquin and his own daughter

³ Cornell 2005².

⁴ Recent discussions in Vernole 2002; Maras 2010; Laurendi 2010; Letta 2013. They can be consulted for further bibliography, but on the historiography of Servius, see in particular Gabba 2000, 109–28; Ridley 1975. On the reforms of Servius, see Ampolo 1988; Cornell 1995, 173–97.

⁵ Liv. 1, 39; Dio. Hal. 4, 1.

⁶ Liv. 1, 47: Tarquinius accuses Servius of being a *servus servaeque natus*. Dion. Hal. 4, 1 says that the mother of Servius was freed by Tanaquil shortly after the birth of the future king.

⁷ Servius crowned by fire: Liv. 1, 39; Ovid., *Fast.* 6, 634–6; Plut., *Fort. Rom.* 10. Servius born from a divine phallus of fire from the hearth: Lucilius *apud* Arnob., *adv. nat.* 5, 18; Dion. Hal. 4, 2; Ovid., *Fast.* 6, 627–33; Plin., *NH* 36, 204; Plut., *Fort. Rom.* 10.

⁸ Liv. 1, 41; Dion. Hal. 4, 4–5.

Tullia.⁹ These are the essential outlines of the traditional story: one can see how Servius came to be associated with Fortuna. In Greek historiography Fortune (Tyche) was a very powerful narrative motif already in Herodotus, and it became increasingly popular in Hellenistic historiography.¹⁰ Tyche was able to elevate some men above all others, regardless of their origins and background, and she could also ruin them at will. The story of a king born of a slave, and murdered by his daughter, was very apt to become associated with the power of Tyche. I have argued elsewhere that the Sicilian historian Timaeus of Tauromenium, who wrote an important historical work focused on the West in the first decades of the third century BC, might have included in his account of the reign of Servius some information on the foundation of temples of Fortuna/Tyche, and modelled the relationship between the king and the goddess on the prototype of a similar connection established in Syracuse between the Corinthian leader Timoleon and Tyche.¹¹

Turning to the sources, one can start with the observation that in the principal account of Servius' story offered by Livy there is no mention of any temple of Fortuna. The only occasion Livy connects Servius with a temple of Fortuna is when he refers to the temple of Fors Fortuna built by Spurius Carvilius in 293 BC, and it is what one may call a cursory reference: Carvilius built his temple just next to the one built by Servius.¹² In the account of the story in Dionysius of Halicarnassus, we find a much stronger connection between Servius and Fortune. Dionysius reports that Servius 'built two temples to Fortune, who seemed to have favoured him all his life, one in the Forum called Boarium, the other on the banks of the Tiber to the Fortune which he named Brave (*ἀνδρεία*), as she is called by the Romans even to this day'.¹³ Fortuna *ἀνδρεία* is probably a bad Greek translation for Fors Fortuna, in which *fors*, 'chance', is misunderstood as *fortis*, 'strong'.¹⁴ Therefore, for Dionysius, two temples of

⁹ Liv. 1, 46–8; Dion. Hal. 4, 28–40; Ovid., *Fast.* 6, 585–612.

¹⁰ E.g. Hdt. 1, 32; 1, 126; 9, 91. On the comparison between Servius and Solon with regard to the role of *tyche*, see Scapini 2011, 71 (although the parallel is not very close). On Hellenistic historiography, see Walbank 2007. See also ch.7.

¹¹ Miano 2013. ¹² 10, 46, 14.

¹³ 4, 27, 7: *ναοὺς δύο κατασκευασάμενος Τύχης, ἣ παρὰ πάντα τὸν βίον ἔδοξεν ἀγαθῇ κεχρησθαι, τὸν μὲν ἐν ἀγορᾷ τῇ καλουμένῃ Βοαρία, τὸν δ' ἕτερον ἐπὶ ταῖς ἡύσι τοῦ Τεβέρριος, ἣν ἀνδρείαν προσηγόρευσεν, ὡς καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καλεῖται.*

¹⁴ Platner-Ashby 1929, 212. The mistake would be more comprehensible if Dionysius' Latin source referred to Fors Fortuna in the genitive: *Fortis Fortunae*, as in Varro (see n. 17, below). See also Plut., *Fort. Rom.* 5.

Fortuna must be attributed to Servius: the one in the Forum Boarium and of the other dedicated to Fors Fortuna. In his *Fasti*, Ovid attributes to Servius the same temples of Fortuna: the one in the Forum Boarium and of Fors Fortuna.¹⁵ He mentions other cults of Fortuna, but without associating them with Servius.¹⁶ Varro also makes Servius the founder of the cult of Fors Fortuna, and he may have influenced Dionysius and Ovid.¹⁷

A very important literary source concerning the cult of Fortuna in the regal period is Plutarch's essay *On the Fortune of the Romans*. In this essay Plutarch elaborates on the topic of the connection between Fortune and the Roman Empire, openly associating the empire and the powers of Fortuna, following up a debate on Roman imperialism in the Greek-speaking world which can be traced back to Polybius.¹⁸ Plutarch attributes the introduction of the cult of Fortuna to King Ancus Marcius, founder of the temple of Fors Fortuna (5). He dedicates a long chapter (10) to the connection between Fortuna and Servius Tullius. First of all, Plutarch praises the political acts of Servius. After that, he adds that 'on his own initiative he attached himself to Fortune and bound his sovereignty fast to her, with the result that it was even thought that Fortune consorted with him, descending into his chamber through a certain window which they now call the Porta Fenestella.'¹⁹ Subsequently, Plutarch lists eight temples of Fortuna founded by Servius, for each of which the goddess was known by different epithets.²⁰ In a parallel passage of his *Roman Questions* (74), Plutarch mentions two other temples: that of Fortuna Brevis-Mikra and that of Fortuna Apotropaia. The foundation of the temple of Fors Fortuna is attributed to Ancus Marcius, and this implies that Plutarch is at least partially using different sources from those of Ovid, Dionysius, and Varro. There is another passage of the same work (36) in which Fortuna is mentioned in connection with a gate of the city called the *porta Fenestella* (from *fenestra*,

¹⁵ 6, 569–636; 6, 771–84.

¹⁶ Fortuna Virilis: 4, 133–50; Fortuna Publica: 4, 373–6; 5, 729–33.

¹⁷ *l.l.* 6, 17: *Dies Fortis Fortunae appellatus ab Servio Tullio rege, quod is fanum Fortis Fortunae secundum Tiberim extra urbem Romam dedicavit Iunio mense.*

¹⁸ See ch.4.

¹⁹ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὴν Τύχην ἀνήπτε καὶ ἀνεδείτο τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐξ ἐκείνης· ὥστε καὶ συνεῖναι δοκεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν Τύχην διὰ τινος θυρίδος καταβαίνουσιν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον, ὃ νῦν Φενέστέλλαν πύλην καλοῦσιν. Trans. F.C. Babbitt (Loeb 1936); cfr. Ovid., *Fast.* 6, 573–80.

²⁰ For an analysis of the work, see Swain 1989. The question of the connection between Fortuna and the empire will be discussed in ch.4 and ch.5.

‘window’), said to be located close to a place called the ‘chamber of Fortune’ (*Tyches thalamos*). Plutarch offers two alternative explanations: he says that the name may derive from the window through which the goddess Fortuna entered to consort with king Servius, or that this story is a myth, and the name comes from the window at which Tanaquil appeared to proclaim Servius king.²¹

Jesse Benedict Carter argued that the names of Fortuna listed by Plutarch in the Roman questions must be Greek translations of an alphabetical list of Latin names of Fortuna, and this was accepted by Champeaux.²² Coarelli proposed partially different translations, and discussed the topography of the temples mentioned by Plutarch.²³ Plutarch occasionally gives Latin translations of the epithets of Fortuna and information about the location of the temples. In some cases the translation is obvious (ἄρρην, ἰδία, ἐπιστρεφομένη, παρθένος), in others controversial (εὐελπὺς, ἀποτρόπαιος). We can summarize this in a table.

Epithets in the Roman questions	Latin translations	Location according to Plutarch ²⁴
μικρά	Brevis (Plutarch, <i>Rom. Quest.</i>)	
εὐελπὺς	Felix? (Carter), Tutela? (Coarelli), joint cult of Fortuna and Spes? (Aronen) ²⁵	Vicus Longus
ἀποτρόπαιος	Mala? (Carter), Redux? (Coarelli)	
μειλιχία	Obsequens (Plutarch, <i>Fort. Rom.</i>)	
πρωτογένεια/ πρωτόγονος	Primigenia (Plutarch, <i>Fort. Rom.</i>)	Capitol
ἄρρην	Virilis	Near the altar of Aphrodite ἐπιταλάριος
ἰδία	Privata	Palatine
ἐπιστρεφομένη	Respiciens	
παρθένος	Virgo	Esquiline
ἰξευτηρία	Viscata or Viscatrix (Plutarch, <i>Rom. Quest.</i>)	<i>Fons Muscosus</i> (<i>Camenerum</i> ? ²⁶)

²¹ On the Roman questions in general, see now Scheid 2012b, esp. 53 and 92.

²² Carter 1900, 197. ²³ Coarelli 1988, 253–77.

²⁴ I have accepted the text proposed by Coarelli 1988 (260), although it is uncertain, as it is emended on hypothetical topographical considerations.

²⁵ Aronen 1995c. ²⁶ Coarelli 1988, 264.

It is essential to stress that the details in the sources probably come from antiquarian writers of the late Republic.²⁷ The tradition of Servius Tullius as an exemplary favourite of Fortune was probably older. I have already discussed the inscribed lot with the sentence 'Servius was ruined because of Fortune' (*fortuna servios perit*), and I have observed how there is some circularity in the interpretation of this text.²⁸ If the text is a reference to King Servius, it follows that the tradition connecting him to Fortuna already existed around 300 BC, when the lot was inscribed. As I have argued above, the connection was probably also attested in Timaeus²⁹—and this encouraged later scholars to ascribe to Servius most of the temples of Fortuna in Rome (or at least those on which no reliable information was preserved). These considerations do not necessarily imply that the Servian temples of Fortuna mentioned in the literary sources are invented. They probably had existed some time before the author that Plutarch follows was writing, and some of them are mentioned or alluded to already in Plautus.³⁰ No assumption, however, can be made on their relationship with the sixth king or their pertinence to the archaic period on the sole basis of the text of Plutarch.³¹

An important point to analyse on the relationship between Servius Tullius and Fortuna regards Queen Tanaquil. Tanaquil had a very important role in the story of Servius' rise to power. Several modern scholars of archaic Rome have come to believe that the queen is a sort of human incarnation of the goddess Fortuna. This interpretation was first formulated by Johann J. Bachofen in 1870; it enjoyed a certain success, and it was reprised in different formulations by several scholars.³² Almost eighty years ago, Arnaldo

²⁷ Carter 1900, 62; Champeaux 1982–7, I, 197.

²⁸ See ch.2.

²⁹ Timaeus shows some detailed knowledge of Rome. See most recently Baron 2013, 43–57.

³⁰ Obsequens: *Asin.* 716, *Respicens: Capt.* 833–5. We will discuss them in ch.4.

³¹ Rudi Thomsen (1980, 265) saw very well that Plutarch cannot be taken as evidence for an association between the temples of Fortuna listed and Servius Tullius, and he was followed in this wholly reasonable assumption by Champeaux (1982–7, I, 198) and Vernole (2002, 75). His statement has been questioned by Coarelli (1988, 255), who has argued that Plutarch was following 'good antiquarian sources', and thinks that the *Fortunae* mentioned by Plutarch were established by Servius.

³² Bachofen 1870, 253–66; Pais 1898, 327–31; Gagé 1963, esp. 24–100; Champeaux 1982–7, I, 293; Martin 1985; Vernole 2002, 62–7.

Momigliano demonstrated with clarity that there is no sound basis for this theory, but as the identification is persistent, it will be worth revising the evidence.³³ The evidence used to connect Tanaquil and Fortuna is indirect to say the least. The queen is identified with Gaia Caecilia by Pliny the Elder, who quotes Varro as a reference (*NH* 8, 194): he says that the wool on the distaff and spindle used by Queen Tanaquil, who is also called Gaia Caecilia, to weave the royal toga (*toga regia undulata*) of King Servius was kept in the temple of Semo Sancus. The toga itself was kept in the temple of Fortuna. Pliny finally adds that Tanaquil was the first to weave the straight tunic (*tunica recta*) used by young men and newly-wed women.³⁴ Later in the same chapter, Pliny notes that the *toga praetexta* of Servius Tullius, which covered a statue of Fortuna offered by the king, was still intact at the death of Sejanus in AD 31.³⁵

Other sources speak of Gaia Caecilia the wife of Tarquin the Elder, without identifying her with Tanaquil: they include Festus (276 L), who writes that she had a statue in the temple of Semo Sancus, and the *liber de praenominibus* (7). Festus' text—an epitome of a work of Verrius Flaccus—was in turn epitomized by Paul the Deacon, who, in one passage for which we do not have the original of Festus, identifies Tanaquil with Gaia Caecilia (85 L). Plutarch in the *Roman questions* says that Gaia Caecilia was the wife of a son of King Tarquin, and that she had a bronze statue in the temple of Semo Sancus. Thus, the argument goes that Tanaquil must be identified with Gaia Caecilia, that the latter must be a goddess, because her statue was in a temple, and her name is etymologically connected with that of an obscure goddess called Caca and with Caeculus, the founder of Praeneste.³⁶ Moreover, Tanaquil/Gaia Caecilia must in turn be identified with Fortuna, because, in the text of Plutarch quoted above, she

³³ Momigliano 1969.

³⁴ Plin., *NH* 8, 194: *Lanam in colu et fuso Tanaquilis, quae eadem Gaia Caecilia vocata est, in templo Sancus durasse prodente se auctor est M. Varro factamque ab ea togam regiam undulatam in aede Fortunae, qua Ser. Tullius fuerat usus. inde factum ut nubentes virgines comitaretur colus compta et fusus cum stamine. ea prima texuit rectam tunicam, quales cum toga pura tironi induuntur novaeque nuptae.*

³⁵ Plin., *NH* 8, 197: *Servi Tulli praetexta<e>, quibus signum Fortunae ab eo dicatae coopertum erat, duravere ad Seiani exitum, mirumque fuit neque diffluxisse eas neque tereidinum iniurias sensisse annis quingentis sexaginta.*

³⁶ Radke 1965, 75, cf Lact., *Inst.* 1, 10, 36.

appears at the same window through which the goddess descended to consort with King Servius.

The weakness of this chain of argument was pointed out by Momigliano: there is no evidence that Gaia Caecilia was a goddess. On the contrary, it is reasonable to think that Gaia Caecilia was simply the name of the wife of Tarquin according to a part of the tradition, and that for this reason she was identified with Tanaquil by Pliny/Varro. Momigliano emphasized that we know of other names for the wife of Tarquin, and that for Plutarch she was the wife of one of the king's sons.³⁷ His conclusion is that the connection between Gaia Caecilia and Tanaquil is secondary in the development of the traditional narratives, and cannot provide any proof of the divine nature of the queen. It is hard not to agree with Momigliano that the Tanaquil-Fortuna theory is, therefore, unnecessary to say the least. Another weak point of the theory is that its supporters have not provided convincing explanations as to when, how, why, and by whom Tanaquil was 'fused' with Gaia Caecilia and with Fortuna.

One reason why it is extremely important to underline the weakness of this theory is that the association of Tanaquil both with the weaver Gaia Caecilia and with Fortuna has been used by some modern scholars to connect some epithets of Fortuna that are linked to age classes and rites of passage with Servius Tullius and the archaic period, as in the passage of Pliny quoted in the paragraph above.³⁸ Momigliano's convincing confutation of the identification of Tanaquil, Fortuna, and Gaia Caecilia has not enjoyed the success it deserves because it undermines the idea that the evidence can be easily fitted into a single coherent picture. I believe, however, that we cannot have any confidence that the connection between Fortuna, age classes, and gender distinctions goes back to Servius and the archaic period. To refer again to Plutarch's list, it would be wrong to believe that Fortuna Virgo or Fortuna Virilis had stronger connections with the king than, say, Fortuna Obsequens because of their age and gender aspects. It is reasonable to believe that, like the other cultic names in the list, they came to be associated with the king because of his reputation as a

³⁷ In Dion. Hal. 4, 7, 4 the second wife of Tarquin is called Gegania. Momigliano 1969, 460–3.

³⁸ Gagé 1963, 24–100; Champeaux 1982–7, I, 198.

favourite of the goddess. For this reason, I have preferred to discuss the connection between the goddess, age classes, and gender distinctions in a later chapter.³⁹

A further point arising from the connection between Servius and Fortuna concerns the veiled statue in the temple of the Forum Boarium. Several sources clearly say that this wooden statue, which miraculously survived a fire, was a statue of Servius himself.⁴⁰ Other sources, including Pliny in the passage on Tanaquil I have just referred to, write of a statue of Fortuna covered with *togae*. A fragment of Varro's work *De vita populi Romani* (f. 17 Riposati=Pittà) takes issue with those who believed that this veiled Fortuna was called Virgo (whereas Arnobius (*adv. Nat.* 2, 67) refers to the same Fortuna as Virginalis). Other sources refer to a statue of Fortuna which originally belonged to Servius, and which was taken by Sejanus.⁴¹ Champeaux argued that the sources above refer to a single statue, whose identity was considered uncertain by Varro himself; therefore, the veiled statue in the temple of the Forum Boarium would be a statue of Fortuna, with or without the epiclesis Virgo.⁴² Coarelli has argued that the sources refer to two different statues, one of Servius, which was kept in the temple of the Forum Boarium, and one of Fortuna Virgo, which was on the Esquiline hill.⁴³ Massimo Papini has recently reconsidered the question, arguing that the texts might indeed refer to two different statues of Fortuna, one in the temple of the Forum Boarium and another in the house of Sejanus.⁴⁴ He argues that the gender of the statue might have been difficult to determine because it was in an archaizing style, and badly preserved.⁴⁵ However that might be, it is extremely difficult to imagine that the statue in question was really archaic, or at least that it belonged to the temple from the archaic period. As I shall discuss in the next pages, what we know from the literary sources about the temple of the Forum Boarium and the relevant archaeological evidence makes the continuity between the archaic and the Republican period doubtful. The presence of a statue thought to be of Servius Tullius in the temple, however, makes a very

³⁹ Ch.5. ⁴⁰ Ovid., *Fast.* 6, 569–626; Dion. Hal. 4, 40; Val. Max. 1, 8, 11.

⁴¹ Cass. Dio. 58, 7, 2; Plin., *NH* 36, 163; and 8, 194 quoted above.

⁴² Champeaux 1982–7, I, 274–81. Along these lines also Boëls-Janssen 1993, 355–6, although she is more firmly against the identification with Fortuna Virgo.

⁴³ Coarelli 1988, 268–73.

⁴⁴ Papini 2006, 57–85.

⁴⁵ Papini 2006, 66.

strong statement of the great importance of the connection between the king and the goddess in Republican Rome.

It seems to me that the best way to proceed is to analyse the evidence concerning individual temples, and to focus on the temples for which we have a plurality of sources and a more consistent connection with the archaic period. These are Fortuna at the Forum Boarium, Fors Fortuna, and Fortuna Muliebris.

3.1 FORTUNA AT THE FORUM BOARIUM

The day of the festival of the goddess Fortuna was 11 June, the same as the Matralia, the festival of Mater Matuta.⁴⁶ The Matralia were part of the so called 'calendar of Numa', usually considered the most ancient Roman set of festivals. At least in Republican times, the two goddesses were associated not only in time but also in space: they were worshipped in twin temples located on a monumental platform in the area beneath the church of S. Omobono (Fig. 3.1). We are (slightly) better informed about Mater Matuta, but when it comes to Fortuna we know frustratingly little about the festival other than the date. Describing the veiled statue in the temple, Ovid warns the matrons not to touch it, saying that it is enough to utter prayers.⁴⁷ This is usually taken to mean that the cult in the temple was reserved to matrons, although Ovid does not say so directly. The twin cult of Mater Matuta was reserved to matrons, and perhaps to those who married only once (*univirae*), but there is no evidence about any such limitation for the cult of Fortuna of the Forum Boarium.⁴⁸ The lack of information makes any analysis difficult.⁴⁹

But how old was the cult of Fortuna at the Forum Boarium? This is a question which is difficult to answer. Under the Republican temple there are the remains of an archaic temple, but there is a problem of

⁴⁶ On which, see Smith 2000.

⁴⁷ *Fast.* 6, 622: *sollemni satis est voce movere preces.*

⁴⁸ On Mater Matuta and the *univirae* see Tertull., *De monogam.* 17, who says that only this category of matrons would be able to touch the statue.

⁴⁹ John Scheid has recently argued that the relationship between the sanctuary of Hercules of the *ara maxima* and the surrounding goddesses is central to the understanding of the festivals taking place in the Forum Boarium, but it is unclear to me how far this can be applied to Fortuna. Scheid 2012a.



Fig. 3.1. Visible remains of the sanctuaries of Fortuna and Mater Matuta at S. Omobono, Rome.

Photograph by the author. © Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali, Comune di Roma.

continuity between the several phases of the building. First of all, it will be useful to summarize what the literary sources say about the history of the temple up to 213 BC. According to Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Servius Tullius founded a temple of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium.⁵⁰ On the other hand, Livy says nothing about a temple of Fortuna: he ascribes to Servius Tullius a temple of Mater Matuta, and he does so incidentally, speaking about its restoration.⁵¹ Ovid associates both temples with Servius in his treatment of their joint festival day. According to the sources, the next phase of the history of the temple would have been when M. Furius Camillus, in 395 BC, built a temple of Mater Matuta, apparently *ex novo* according to Plutarch or, for Livy, restoring the temple of Mater Matuta built by Servius.⁵² Livy informs us that, in 213 BC, the two temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta were destroyed by fire and reconstructed the following year.⁵³ This is also the first time he mentions them together.

⁵⁰ 4, 27, 7.

⁵¹ 5, 19, 6.

⁵² Plut., *Cam.* 5; Liv. 5, 19, 6.

⁵³ 24, 47, 15; 25, 7, 5.

The archaeological evidence provides a radically different picture of the events.⁵⁴ Although the exact chronology is a debated issue, we know for certain of an archaic temple in two phases: first built in the early sixth century BC (most recent estimates give 585–575 BC as a time span for the construction),⁵⁵ and then widened and decorated in the second half of the century, around 530 BC, and destroyed around 500 BC. Only a small portion of the site has been excavated and it is sometimes suggested that there might have been a second archaic temple. However, in the present state of our knowledge, this is only a hypothesis.

In the early Republic a monumental podium was built, with a different orientation from that of the archaic temple, and two twin temples were erected on top of it. According to preliminary results of the latest works on the sanctuary there are two further Republican pavements, the later securely dated after the fire of 213 BC, whereas the former has a *terminus post quem* of the fourth century BC.⁵⁶ On this pavement were placed votive gifts offered by M. Fulvius Flaccus after the conquest of Volsinii in 264 BC, which therefore represents a *terminus ante quem*.⁵⁷ The absolute chronology of the first and second Republican pavements is uncertain. Pisani Sartorio and others (most recently Cifani) have argued that the first construction of the twin temples must have happened at the beginning of the Republic, i.e. a couple of decades after the archaic temple was destroyed, and have identified the second pavement with Camillus' restoration, on which Flaccus placed his gifts.⁵⁸ Although Coarelli proposed dating the first Republican building phase to the beginning of the fourth century BC, attributing it to Camillus, the team currently working on the site has confirmed that this phase must probably be dated in the early fifth century, which means some years after the destruction of

⁵⁴ The bibliography on the temple is huge. The most recent studies are: Coarelli 1988, 205–34; Pisani Sartorio 1989; Ioppolo 1989a; Ioppolo 1989b; Virgili 1989; Pisani Sartorio 1990; Sommella Mura 1990; Colonna 1990; Ziolkowski 1992, 104–9; Pisani Sartorio 1995; Adornato 2003; Cifani 2008, 165–73. Terrenato-Brocato-Carusio-Ramieri-Becker-Cangemi-Mantiloni 2012; Brocato-Ramieri-Terrenato-Cangemi-D'Acri-De Luca-Giovagnoli-Pizzitutti-Regoli 2012, now Diffendale-Brocato-Terrenato-Brock 2016.

⁵⁵ Diffendale-Brocato-Terrenato-Brock 2016, 14.

⁵⁶ Diffendale-Brocato-Terrenato-Brock 2016, 29, 34–5.

⁵⁷ Diffendale 2016.

⁵⁸ Pisani Sartorio 1995 (see also her other contributions in the footnote above); Cifani 2008, 172.

the archaic temple.⁵⁹ In recent excavation a strong element of continuity has emerged between the archaic and the Republican phases of the temple: under one of the altars of the Republican temple, there seems to be a pit or a well adjoining it with the archaic altar. Even the orientation of this altar would follow that of the archaic podium rather than being aligned with the new structure.⁶⁰ This element suggests not only an awareness of the existence of the archaic temple by the Republican constructors, but also a degree of cultic continuity between the two structures.

At all events, it looks extremely difficult to get a coherent picture from the information provided by the literary sources, let alone to reconcile the literary and the archaeological evidence. As we have observed, Livy and Dionysius speak only of the temple of Fortuna or that of Mater Matuta in relation to Servius, and Ovid is the only source attributing both buildings to the sixth-century king. Moreover, no literary source mentions the destruction of the temple in the late sixth century BC.

For the Republican period, things get even more complicated: if one dates the Republican temple in the early fifth century BC, the problem is that the construction is not mentioned in the literary sources. On the other hand, if the first Republican temple is dated to the early fourth century BC, this is still inconsistent with the literary evidence: Livy says that Camillus restored an archaic temple of Mater Matuta, not that he built a completely new sanctuary on a site which had been abandoned for over a century. Moreover, the sources attribute to Camillus only the temple of Mater Matuta, and the twin temple of Fortuna is never mentioned in relation to him. I think one must conclude that the literary sources did not have reliable information about the early history of the building. This is a strong point against the continuity between the archaic and the Republican cults.

There are, however, also reasons to believe that there was some kind of continuity. First of all, although unclear in details, one must notice that in the literary sources there is awareness of the existence of an archaic temple and, therefore, one could suppose there were some records of the foundation. However, one could object that the records on which the literary sources are based were incomplete or that they depended on antiquarian reconstructions. This may be perfectly

⁵⁹ Coarelli 1988, 216–19; Diffendale-Brocato-Terrenato-Brock 2016, 24.

⁶⁰ Diffendale-Brocato-Terrenato-Brock 2016, 28.

plausible, given that, as we observed, the literary sources do not seem to provide good, coherent information on the temple. Secondly, the Matralia festival was a part of the archaic *feriale*, which is variously dated, but is usually believed to have been established in the sixth century BC.⁶¹ However, one must keep in mind that we have instances of festivals in the *feriale* dedicated to divinities who received a proper temple only in Republican times.⁶² It is not impossible that the Matralia were such a case, and therefore that the archaic temple was not dedicated to Mater Matuta. Thirdly, there is the archaeological evidence of the first Republican altar, aligned with the archaic altar and united to the latter by a pit or a well.

This is a difficult balance to strike, and any position one adopts entails a considerable number of unsolvable problems. The archaeological evidence seems now to support continuity between the archaic and the Republican period, but it is unclear whether the deity worshipped in the archaic temple was Fortuna or Mater Matuta. The latter has a stronger case for an archaic cult, because of the festival in the *feriale*, although one cannot discount the possibility that there was a second archaic temple, or that both deities were worshipped in the same temple. The discrepancies between the literary and the archaeological evidence make clear that ancient authors did not know very much about the early history of the sanctuary.

The meanings attributed to this archaic Fortuna by the Romans are difficult to ascertain. In this area contextual analysis has been the most common interpretation. The association with Mater Matuta, however, should not make one assume that the two goddesses were somehow similar and that Fortuna was associated with matrons, as this association is unsupported by the evidence. John Scheid has recently attempted a more extended contextual analysis, arguing that the relationship between the sanctuary of Hercules of the *ara maxima* and the surrounding goddesses is central to the understanding of the festivals taking place in the Forum Boarium, but it is unclear to me how far this can be applied to Fortuna.⁶³

⁶¹ Cornell 1995; Pedroni 1998; Coarelli 2010.

⁶² E.g. Liberalia and Quirinalia festivals are a part of the *feriale*, but the temple of Ceres, Liber, and Libera was dedicated at the beginning of the Republic (493 BC), that of Quirinus in the mid Republic (293 BC).

⁶³ Scheid 2012a.

3.2 FORS FORTUNA

Another temple of Fortuna dated to the archaic period is that of Fors Fortuna. In this case the epithet *fors*, ‘chance’, precedes the name of the deity, and this is very uncommon. In classical Latin, the word *fors* is used only in the nominative and the ablative, except when the goddess is implied, which testifies to the antiquity of this deity. As I have already mentioned, one of the two temples of the goddess that Dionysius attributes to Servius was dedicated to this goddess, and also Varro connects this sanctuary with the king.⁶⁴ Livy informs us that Sp. Carvilius in 293 BC ‘contracted for a temple of Fors Fortuna to be erected from the spoils, near the temple (*prope aedem*) of that goddess dedicated by King Servius Tullius’.⁶⁵ In saying that, he implies that there were two temples of Fors Fortuna, the mid Republican temple of Carvilius and an older temple dedicated to the same goddess. Plutarch attributes an archaic temple to Ancus Marcius.⁶⁶ The epigraphic calendars register on 24 June the *dies natalis* of two temples of Fors Fortuna, ‘beyond the Tiber at the first and the sixth mile’.⁶⁷ In his description of the festival, Ovid says that Servius ‘erected nearby temples (*templa propinqua*) of the uncertain goddess’.⁶⁸ Now, it is not clear whether expressions such as *propinqua templa* or *prope aedem* could be used to describe two temples five miles apart. Plutarch mentions a temple of Fors Fortuna built in the gardens of Caesar, and the way he formulates the sentence seems to imply that the temple was built after Caesar’s death, which is confirmed by Tacitus, who says that the temple was built in AD 16 by Tiberius.⁶⁹ According to Coarelli, however, the sentence could just emphasize an ideological connection, and the temple be older.⁷⁰ Another piece of evidence was recently brought to light in a note by Federico Biddau: Terentius Scaurus, in a comment on the use of the

⁶⁴ Dion. Hal. 4, 27, 7; Varr., *l.l.* 6, 17.

⁶⁵ 10, 46, 14: *aedem Fortis Fortunae de manubiis faciendam locavit prope aedem eius deae ab rege Servio Tullio dedicatam*.

⁶⁶ *Fort. Rom.* 5.

⁶⁷ *InsIt* 13, 2, p. 88; p. 59; p. 92; pp. 186–7; pp. 248–9; p. 288.

⁶⁸ 6, 784: *constituit dubiae templa propinqua deae*.

⁶⁹ *Fort. Rom.* 5: καὶ τὸν γε ναὸν αὐτῆς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ Καίσαρος τῷ δήμῳ καταλειφθεῖσαι κήποις ὑποδόμησαν, ἡγοῦμενοι κακῆϊνον εὐτυχία γενέσθαι μέγιστον, ὥς αὐτὸς ἐμαρτύρησε; cf. *Brut.* 20; Tac., *Ann.* 2, 41.

⁷⁰ Coarelli 2004a, Coarelli 2004b.

letters K and C mentions an archaic Greek inscription with the text of a treaty (i.e. written with archaic Latin letters?) kept in *hortis Caesaris in aede Fortis Fortunae*, which must be identified with the temple mentioned by Plutarch and Tacitus.⁷¹ According to Biddau, if the information reported by Scaurus is reliable, it probably means that the temple in the gardens of Caesar should be identified with that of Servius Tullius. Finally, we have some material evidence: three inscribed stones with dedications to Fors Fortuna were found between the fifth and the sixth mile of Via Portuense.⁷² These inscriptions are normally considered late Republican because of their linguistic characteristics and the shape of the letters. They are gifts offered by professional associations (*conlegia*) and their officers (*magistri*). Two of the stones preserve the names of the professional associations involved, a group of associations of bronze workers (*conlegia aerarior(um)*), and an association of workers in public swimming pools (*piscinenses*). Interestingly enough, one of the officers of the college of bronze workers is a freedman of the Carvili, and another individual with connections to the same family is mentioned in the inscribed text.⁷³ John Scheid showed that these inscriptions are probably related to an early-third-century sacred building which was associated with the *lucus* of Dea Dia, which should be identified with the temple built by Carvilius.⁷⁴

Modern scholars have proposed different interpretations to explain the paradox of having far-apart temples described as 'near'. Savage argued that the temple at the first mile must be the ancient temple of Servius, later rebuilt by Tiberius, and that it is identical with the temple mentioned by Ovid, whose use of *templa* is a poetic plural meaning *templum*, whereas *propinqua* would refer to the distance from the city.⁷⁵ For Savage, the temple at the sixth mile must be the one founded by Carvilius because of the inscription of the professional associations of bronze workers mentioned above, which

⁷¹ Biddau 2005. GL VII 15, 7–16 Keil.

⁷² CIL 1² 978–980 = CIL 6 167–169 = ILLRP 97–99. Two of the inscriptions were recently dated in the second century BC: Giovagnoli 2012 (= CIL 1² 978, 980).

⁷³ CIL 1² 977 = VI 36771 = ILLRP 96 = ILS 9253: *Conlegia aerarior(um)/Forte Fortunae/donu(m) dant mag(istri)/C(aius) Carvilius M(arci) l(ibertus)/L(ucius) Munius L(uci) l(ibertus)/[–] lacus/minis(tri) T(iti) Mari Car/vil(i) m(agistri)/[–]stim D(ecimus) Quinctius*. The reconstruction of the second part of the inscription is difficult because of a gap. However, for the question of the localization of the temples is enough to notice that there is a second Carvilius mentioned.

⁷⁴ Broise-Scheid 1978; Broise-Scheid 1985; Scheid 1990, 150–4.

⁷⁵ Savage 1940.

involves two individuals called Carvili.⁷⁶ He explains Livy's *prope aedem* by pointing out that '[w]hen Livy was writing his history, the land on the right bank of the Tiber, and especially points outside modern-day Trastevere and downstream, may well have still seemed remote, and two temples in that general area, though actually five miles apart from each other, might conceivably have been called "near" to each other.'⁷⁷ The most popular alternative has proved to imagine three temples of Fors Fortuna. For Platner and Ashby, whose reconstruction is also accepted by Richardson and Coarelli, there may have been two temples at the first mile (Servius and Carvilius) and one at the sixth mile (unknown founder).⁷⁸

However, it seems to me that all the proposed hypotheses pose problems. The epigraphic evidence suggests that the temple of Carvilius was located at the sixth mile, and the evidence of the treaty mentioned by Scaurus suggests that the temple of Servius was at the first mile. However, we still have the problem of the expression *prope aedem* used by Livy to describe the relationship between the temples of Servius and Carvilius. I cannot believe that Livy used this expression to describe two temples five miles apart. If we want to take Livy literally, then we are forced to imagine a different distribution of temples: two temples at the sixth mile (Carvilius and Servius) and the temple at the first mile built for the first time by Tiberius, who perhaps decided to install an inscription taken from the temple of Servius inside the new building.

At the time of Ovid, the festival was characterized by a procession along the river to the temple, during which wine was drunk. Some would sail down the river in a boat.⁷⁹ The emphasis Ovid puts on the procession may confirm that the festival he describes took place at the temple located six miles from the city. Six miles are approximately nine kilometres, a distance which it is possible to cover in less than two hours walking at a moderate pace. One can also see why some would prefer sailing, whereas this is more difficult to conceive for the fifteen minutes required to cover the distance of one mile on foot.

⁷⁶ Savage 1940, 32. The identification of the temple at the sixth mile with that of Carvilius is also accepted by Ziolkowski 1992, 39.

⁷⁷ Savage 1940, 33. This argument was accepted by Champeaux 1982–7, I, 202–3.

⁷⁸ Platner-Ashby 1929, 214; Richardson 1992, 154; Coarelli 2004a.

⁷⁹ *Fast.* 6, 775–80: *ite, deam laeti Fortem celebrate, Quirites:/in Tiberis ripa munera regis habet./pars pede, pars etiam celeri decurrite cumba,/nec pudeat potos inde redire domum./ferte coronatae iuvenum convivia, lintres,/multaque per medias vina bibantur aquas.*

Moreover, this is confirmed by the fact that Ovid describes one of the persons coming back from the festival as going to the city during the night from the *suburbana aedes*, thus implying a long way to the city after a day of celebrations.⁸⁰

Champeaux has interpreted the day of Fors Fortuna as a summer solstice festival. Ovid and others notice the coincidence of the dates.⁸¹ However, it is difficult to say to what extent this interpretation of the festival predates the Julian calendar, and it is better not to speculate about it.⁸² Ovid tells us that Fors Fortuna was popular amongst the plebs and slaves, and Columella says it was celebrated by gardeners.⁸³ I have already mentioned the three Republican gifts to Fors Fortuna offered by professional *collegia*, whose inscriptions were found in the area. The evidence implies a general popularity of Fors Fortuna amongst small professionals, who were often *liberti*. The story of the birth of Servius from a slave, and his strong connection with Fors Fortuna in Roman memory, could have played a role in the popularity of the goddess amongst freedmen.

The fact that at the time of Livy one could see the third-century temple of Carvilius and an older temple to the same goddess which some attributed to Servius Tullius seems to me a clear indication of its antiquity. The temple of Carvilius of 293 BC belongs to a time of increased temple-building activity, which had started in the late fourth century BC. This was preceded by a long period, going back to the beginning of the Republic, in which very few temples and new cults are recorded. So, if there was an older temple of Fors Fortuna, it is likely to have gone back to the archaic period. The presence in the temple in the gardens of Caesar of an ancient treaty in Greek letters, reported by Terentius Scaurus, confirms a connection with the archaic period, in spite of the serious problems regarding the respective location of the temples.

⁸⁰ 6, 785–6.

⁸¹ Ovid., *Fast.* 6, 789–90. Champeaux 1982–7, I, 207–34. Ovid's *Fasti* often have astronomical notes on festivals. The coincidence of the festival with summer solstice is also stated in Plin., *NH* 18, 256; Colum. 2, 4, 4; Isid., *Etym.* 5, 34, 1 and several calendars (collected in *InsIt* 13, 2, p. 473).

⁸² For attempts to demonstrate that there were solstitial festivals in the 'calendar of Numa', see Dumézil 1956, 44 ff; Prosdocimi-Prosdocimi 1978.

⁸³ *Fast.* 6, 781–4: *plebs colit hanc, quia qui posuit de plebe fuisse/fertur, et ex humili sceptris tulisse loco./convenit et servis, serva quia Tullius ortus/constituit dubiae templa propinqua deae.* Colum. 10, 1, 1, 311–16.

3.3 FORTUNA MULIEBRIS

A temple of Fortuna Muliebris was dedicated at the fourth mile of the Via Latina, probably around 486 BC, although the chronology is uncertain.⁸⁴ Its foundation is connected with the famous story of Coriolanus: Gnaeus Marcius Coriolanus, a Roman aristocrat banished by the plebs (or in voluntary exile), successfully led a Volscian army against his own city. After rejecting embassies from the Senate, he received a delegation of Roman matrons including his own mother and wife, who finally persuaded him to retreat. The temple of Fortuna Muliebris was built by decree of the senate in honour of the women, following their specific request. Ceremonies had to be held on 1 December, the anniversary of Coriolanus' withdrawal, whereas the *dies natalis* of the temple was 6 July. Dionysius explains that there were two statues of the goddess, one funded by the senate and one by the Roman matrons themselves.⁸⁵ According to Dionysius the latter statue prodigiously spoke, exhorting the matrons to worship her.⁸⁶

There have been speculations about the two statues in the temple. According to Gagé, they might have been a mother and a wife, corresponding to Veturia and Volumnia, the mother and the wife of Coriolanus, incarnating aspects of Fortuna in the story. Also Valeria, the woman organizing the embassy, is considered an aspect of the goddess. Moreover, they would in turn correspond to the two aspects of Fortuna from Antium, the matron and the Amazon.⁸⁷ Although Gagé's hypothesis has known some success, one must emphasize that it is based on mere speculation.⁸⁸ We have no idea what the statues of the goddess looked like, and in any case a relationship between the statues and the wife and mother of Coriolanus is without any foundation in the ancient sources, as is the hypothesis that Volumnia and Veturia were ever humanized divine figures. On the other hand, it is possible that Fortuna Muliebris might have had a function of divine protection

⁸⁴ For the tricky chronology of the story of Coriolanus, see Cornell 2003, 76. The distance of the sanctuary from the city is stated in Fest. p. 282 L., Val. Max. 1, 8, 4 and *vir. Ill.* 19. On the location of the sanctuary, see Quilici Gigli 1981; Egidì 2004; Montanari 2015 (I would like to thank the author for sending a draft of his contribution to me).

⁸⁵ 8, 56, 2. Likewise Plut., *Cor.* 37, 2–3.

⁸⁶ Dion. Hal. 8, 56, 3; Val. Max. 1, 8, 4.

⁸⁷ Gagé 1963, 48–63.

⁸⁸ It is accepted by Champeaux 1982–7, I, 335–73 and Boëls-Janssen 1993, 373–88.

of the city: this is shown by the *aition* itself, and by the location of the temple near the border of the *ager Romanus*.⁸⁹

Two recent studies, by Tim Cornell and Celia Schultz, have analysed the evidence for the story of Coriolanus and Fortuna Muliebris.⁹⁰ Cornell has argued that the story of Coriolanus is plausible in the context of the late archaic period, which was characterized by the social mobility of local elites: a Roman *condottiero* might have effectively moved to a Volsian city to become a member of the local ruling class. Schultz focused on the story of the foundation of the temple, also arguing that it looks plausible in the light of known religious practices of Roman women.

Cornell hypothesized that the story of Coriolanus and the foundation of the temple might have been closely bound together. He argues that some kind of scenic drama might have been represented during one of the festivals concerning the temple (1 December or 6 July). A reason for thinking so is that the story of Coriolanus presents strong dramatic characteristics, and would appear perfect for a scenic performance. Cornell argues that the foundation date of the temple might have been independently recorded and may even be reliable: Livy omits two consular years (490 and 489 BC), during which Coriolanus was in exile, and this could have happened because Livy's account was inspired by a dramatic performance and he wanted to keep the unity of the drama, while preserving 486 BC as the date of the dedication of the temple.⁹¹ The performance theory also suggests a wide participation, as one can be sure that they involved a far greater number of people of all genders and classes.

Although, as in the case of Fors Fortuna, it is difficult to reach any certainty, it is plausible that the temple of Fortuna Muliebris was connected with events of the early fifth century BC. The fact that the cult escaped the stereotypical association with Servius Tullius and the cults of Fortuna is certainly significant: it proves that the connection between the temple and the story of Coriolanus was strong enough to resist it.⁹² Fortuna Muliebris—as the epithet also implies—had some connections with matrons, although the temple was sanctioned by the

⁸⁹ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 360–8; Mustakallio 1990; Boëls-Janssen 1993, 383.

⁹⁰ Cornell 2003; Schultz 2006, 37–44. ⁹¹ Cornell 2003, 76 n. 10.

⁹² Attempts to prove that the cult was more ancient than the fifth century BC and related to Servius are in my opinion unconvincing, and imply rejecting a good deal of evidence: Boëls-Janssen 1993, 383–4.

senate and dedicated by a consul.⁹³ As I shall discuss, it would therefore be the oldest datable temple dedicated to a Fortuna connected with gender.⁹⁴

The analysis of the sources has shown that there are strong reasons to believe that Fortuna was worshipped at Rome from the monarchic period. We have seen that the tradition connecting the goddess with King Servius is probably to be related to Roman exemplary practices. From this, it is clear that Servius Tullius was turned quite early into a figure who exemplified the powers of Fortuna over individuals. I have argued elsewhere that the period between the fourth and the third century BC seems to have been a very important moment for the development of the exemplarity of the regal period at Rome.⁹⁵ This seems to be connected with the construction of several monuments concerning the regal period, like the statue of the twins being suckled by the she-wolf erected in 296 BC.⁹⁶ It is also the period of our earliest evidence, the lot of Fiesole described above. In the following decades, Timaeus of Tauromenium would write his historical work, in which the connection between Servius and Fortuna was perhaps mentioned. There can be no doubt that this was a crucial moment for the development of this tradition, although we cannot rule out the possibility that it already existed. This chapter has also shown that the connection between Fortuna and age classes must be separated from the tradition of Servius, and that it does not have to be traced back to the archaic period.

As for the archaic temples of the goddess, I have focused only on those for which we have more evidence, and excluded some cult places that we hear of only from cursory references in a couple of sources, and are more difficult to assess. Of the temples I have considered, the inconsistencies of the evidence make the situation of the temple of Fortuna in the Forum Boarium particularly difficult to understand. Beneath the Republican temples of Fortuna and Mater Matuta there is certainly an archaic temple, but its relationship with the later structures remains unclear. Although we do not have archaeological remains, ancient sources are more consistent with regard to the temples of Fors Fortuna and Fortuna Muliebris, and there are several reasons to be confident about their antiquity.

⁹³ Dion. Hal 8, 55, 5. ⁹⁴ See ch.5.

⁹⁵ Miano 2011. ⁹⁶ Liv. 10, 32.

An element which connects the sanctuaries of Fors Fortuna and Fortuna Muliebris is without doubt their suburban location. John Scheid has argued that both sanctuaries must be connected with the border of Roman *ager*, and, in the case of Fortuna Muliebris, her role of protection of the Roman frontier is made clear by the story of Coriolanus.⁹⁷ One could, in a sense, extend this interpretation also to the temple in the sacred area of S. Omobono, located near the city's river port. This could suggest that protection from dangers was one of the meanings attached to Fortuna in the archaic period. Although a protective meaning for Fortuna can be directly supported by ancient evidence only in the case of the foundation story of Fortuna Muliebris, the connection between archaic Fortuna and the borders of the territory of Rome seems significant.

We have no detail at all about the rituals which would have taken place on the festival of Fors Fortuna, but in the Republican period there seems to be a connection with plebeians at all levels, but also with small professionals, and I shall discuss in chapter 4 what were the possible meanings associated with the goddess during the Republic. The lateness of the written evidence on Fortuna implies that the meanings attributed to the deity are undoubtedly a product of the time in which the texts were produced. However, a number of clues from contextual information allow us to determine some meanings for Fortuna in the archaic period. The epithet *fors* remains our best clue in this case, and one can imagine a particular strong meaning of Fors Fortuna as a deity of chance. In the case of Fortuna Muliebris there is strong evidence that matrons had a connection with the goddess, much less so in the case of the temple at the Forum Boarium, and not at all in the case of Fors Fortuna. We have indications that the festivals of the goddess were very popular, and a great number of people were able to relate to her at different levels. This situation suggests a plurality of meanings associated with the goddess. The case of Fortuna Muliebris, in particular, shows that these meanings were not mutually exclusive, so that the goddess could be at the same time seen as protecting the *ager Romanus* and representing Roman matrons.

⁹⁷ Scheid 1987.

Fortuna and the Republic

Throughout the Republican period numerous temples were vowed, built, and dedicated to several Fortunae with different epithets at Rome. The recurring appeal to Fortuna clearly testifies to the significance of the goddess to the Romans, and the striking multiplicity of her epithets to her ability to attract different meanings. The aim of this chapter will be discussing how the construction of temples of Fortuna allowed individuals and groups to attribute certain meanings to the goddess and renegotiate them. I shall discuss the circumstances of each vow, as they can be reconstructed from ancient sources, and I shall look at the way in which foundation stories are constructed by ancient authors as the expression of a choice of the founder. The connection between temple construction and founding magistrates is of interest because it will allow us to verify the extent to which the magistrates were allowed to attach a certain temple to their own person, and/or to their family or a certain group (e.g. plebeians, patricians, *equites*, etc). The occasionally transparent meaning of some epithets of Fortuna, therefore, will have to be reappraised taking into account the precise historical circumstances of each vow.

From the mid Republican period, the most common way of introducing new gods to the city of Rome was vowing the so-called victory temples.¹ A Roman magistrate holder of *imperium* would vow the construction of a temple on behalf of the Roman people on the battlefield, normally in moments where victory was uncertain.² A precise site was then selected for the construction of the temple (*locatio*), and the building was finally dedicated, usually but not always by the same magistrate

¹ Cornell 2000; Miano 2011, 23–44.

² For the procedural aspects of temple-building, see Ziolkowski 1992, 192–234; Orlin 2002.

who vowed it in the first place. This procedure highlights the simultaneous presence of individual choices of magistrates and collective responsibilities of the Republic in the establishment of the public worship of a new deity, and it implies an interpretation of the relevant deities and temples on at least these two levels. Once the worship of a new deity was established, however, the number of potential individual or group appropriations and interpretations of the deity was very high.

The first part of this chapter will discuss temples for which the date and circumstances of vows are known from ancient sources: Fors Fortuna, Fortuna Primigenia, Fortuna Equestris, Fortuna Huiusce Diei. Unfortunately, this is not the case for many Roman temples dedicated to several Fortunae, and in such cases only educated guesses can be formulated. The second part of this chapter, therefore, will be dedicated to such temples, with the exclusion of those connected with age classes or gender, which I shall leave for the following chapter.³

4.1 DATABLE SANCTUARIES

In the previous chapter I have shown that several Roman temples of Fortuna were certainly or probably established during the sixth and the early fifth centuries BC. During the later part of the fifth century and the first half of the fourth century BC, there does not seem to be a significant level of new temple foundations at Rome. This situation dramatically changes from the late fourth century BC, when a high number of new temples start being constructed. In the early 290s, on average, a new temple was vowed or dedicated each year. It is at this point, in 293 BC, that the consul Sp. Carvilius dedicated a temple to Fors Fortuna, as we know from Livy.⁴ Carvilius was the first consul of his family.⁵ I have already discussed the problem of the topographical location of this temple in a previous chapter, especially in relation to the archaic temple of Fors Fortuna, and reviewed most of the relevant ancient sources. Here I will rather focus on the historical context of

³ Ch.5. ⁴ Liv. 10, 46, 14.

⁵ On the history of the Carvili, see Vishnia 1996.

the vow of Carvilius, and whether or not it can be determined what his interpretation of Fors Fortuna was.

The vow occurred during the campaign of 293 BC against the Samnites, and, later, the Etruscans and the Faliscans, for which the most extensive source is Livy.⁶ Livy focuses in particular on the exploits of the patrician consul, L. Papirius Cursor, and much of his narrative is dedicated to the battle of Aquilonia, where Papirius faced and defeated special Samnite troops who were fighting under a solemn religious oath—the Linen Legion, *legio linteata*, as Livy calls them.⁷ Livy's account of the capture of Cominium by Carvilius, which happened at the same time as the battle of Aquilonia, is much shorter. In Livy's account, Carvilius was about to make an attempt at the city's defences, when he received word from Papirius that a Samnite contingent was approaching, trying to break the siege. Carvilius then decided to send a legion to meet them before they got too close to Cominium, and assaulted the city with no hesitation. When the walls and gates were breached, the inhabitants put together a desperate defence in the forum, but to no avail, and they surrendered their weapons to the Romans.

Livy's choice of vocabulary for this chapter is quite peculiar. The relatively short description twice contains the word *fortuna*, and once *fors*. Livy introduces the narrative by saying that the same good fortune (*eadem fortuna*) of the battle of Aquilonia also took place at Cominium. Carvilius' instructions to D. Brutus Scaeva, the lieutenant in charge of the legion that was ordered to block the Samnite reinforcements, were that 'if by chance (*forte*) the situation should so require, he should engage with the enemy'. Finally, the defendants of the city 'as a last resort briefly tried the hazard of battle' (*paulisper inde temptauerunt extremam pugnae fortunam*).⁸ Whereas the expression *forte* is very common in Livy (it appears 214 times), the expression *eadem fortuna* appears only ten times, and the expression *extrema fortuna* appears only in this passage. I think this indicates that Livy wanted to construct the narrative of this battle as if the event indicates the good fortune in battle of Carvilius, which then results in

⁶ Liv. 10, 38–46, on which, see Oakley 1997–2005, IV, 379–457.

⁷ Liv. 10, 39–42. On the Linen Legion, see Oakley 1997–2005, IV, 392–8, with bibliography.

⁸ A discussion and the translation quoted are to be found in Oakley 1997–2005, IV, 433–4.

his vow of a temple to Fors Fortuna. Livy's narrative of the other achievements of Carvilius is very brief and bare: he takes Velia, Palombinum, and Herculaneum (45, 9–11), and then goes on to fight in Etruria, where he takes a number of fortified citadels, the otherwise unknown Troilum, and forced Falerii to accept a peace treaty (46, 10–12). It is at this point that Livy writes about the triumph of Carvilius, and about his vow of the temple of Fors Fortuna. Livy underlines that his generosity with the war booty made him very popular with the masses. I believe that Livy probably thought that the vow of the temple took place in Cominium for two reasons: first of all, it is the only exploit of Carvilius that Livy narrates with a certain amount of detail, and, secondly, I believe this is the reason why he wanted to construct the narrative of this battle in a way in which Carvilius appears to be favoured by *fortuna*.

On the triumphal programme of Carvilius we have a further, and partially problematic, piece of information from Pliny the Elder. Pliny writes that, with the war spoils, Carvilius erected a monumental bronze statue of Jupiter on the Capitol, and with the remainder of the bronze he had a statue of himself set up in the same place.⁹ The reason why this piece of information is problematic is that, according to Pliny, the material used to forge the statues was the armour of the sacred battalion of the Samnites, and, as I have discussed, they were defeated by Papirius and not by Carvilius. It is difficult to say if Pliny or his source made a mistake confusing Papirius with Carvilius, in which case the statue must be attributed to Papirius, if the mistake was simply in the provenance of the metal used to forge the statue, or if Pliny is right, and it is Livy who wrongly attributed to Papirius the battle against the sacred battalion.

What to make then of Carvilius' vow to Fors Fortuna? There are two possible interpretations of the significance of the vow. First, Fors Fortuna might have been interpreted as a deity who bestows good luck in battle. The way in which the episode was constructed by Livy would make one think that Fors Fortuna was associated with the victory of Cominium. Livy probably believed that this was the place in which the vow was formulated. This may imply that, to Carvilius, Fors Fortuna was primarily the good fortune on the battlefield. The great majority of the vows of temples in the decades between

⁹ Plin., *NH* 34, 43.

the third and fourth centuries BC took place on a battlefield, and they frequently—but not always—involved deities who had potential associations with war and victory.¹⁰ A second possible interpretation is that with the duplication of a temple that the tradition attributed to Servius Tullius, Carvilius wanted to underline a strong continuity with the previous cult. It is worth pointing out here that the decades between the fourth and the third centuries BC were certainly very important for the construction of the narrative of the regal period, as we have, in 296 BC, the first datable monument representing Romulus and Remus, erected by the Ogulnii brothers.¹¹ In the late Republican period statues of the kings, including Servius Tullius, stood on the Capitol, and modern scholars believe that they might have been erected in this period.¹² These monuments also represented *exempla virtutis* that the members of the patricio-plebeian nobility which emerged after the *leges Licinio-Sextiae* (367 BC) and *Genucia* (342 BC) wanted to associate themselves with. It has been suggested that Carvilius wanted to be associated with Servius Tullius in order to underline that, as the son of a slave who became king because of Fortuna, he, too, emerged from a humble family to become consul.¹³ However, I find it very unlikely that Carvilius wanted to compare himself with Servius in this sense, especially considering the servile origins and the miserable end of the story of Servius. It is perhaps more probable that Carvilius wanted to build a connection with Servius Tullius because the plebeian interpretation of the king, which one finds abundantly in later sources, was already established, and had decided to do so by redoubling one of the temples attributed to him.¹⁴ These two interpretations do not need to exclude each other. Fors Fortuna might have been conceived as a goddess who would bestow good fortune in battle and subsequent victory, and as a goddess related to the values of the plebeian nobility through the connection with King Servius Tullius. Moreover, the goddess probably had other

¹⁰ To mention only the temples vowed or dedicated in the seven years before Carvilius' vow: Jupiter Stator, Jupiter Victor, Victoria, Bellona, Quirinus. Champeaux 1982–7, 71 argues that an association between war, triumph, and Fortuna would be a sign of Hellenistic influence, but this is difficult to accept, considering that in the most ancient certain representation of the goddess she appears with Victoria in a triumphal scene. See ch.1.

¹¹ Liv. 10, 23, 11–12. See Miano 2011, 143–72 and ch. 2 and ch.3.

¹² Cass. Dio 43, 45, 4. Bellen 1991.

¹³ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 242.

¹⁴ Pais 1898, 325–6; Richard 1987; Gabba 2000, 109–28; Fraschetti 1994–5.

meanings for the members of the professional associations of bronze craftsmen, of florists, and of swimming-pool workers that, as I have discussed in the previous chapter, offered gifts to her in the late Republican period.¹⁵ These inscriptions can be compared with the numerous gifts offered to Fortuna Primigenia by a great variety of professional associations at Praeneste.

A similar variety of meanings seems to be detectable in the gifts offered to Fortuna and Mater Matuta in the temple of the Forum Boarium by M. Fulvius Flaccus, consul of 264 BC. The gifts were probably bronze statues on three bases, one circular and two rectangular, and they were commemorated by two identical inscriptions whose fragments were found during excavations in the 1960s, and were offered after the successful capture of Volsinii by Flaccus.¹⁶ The gifts were placed on the common podium of the twin temples, and must probably be interpreted as offers to both goddesses. The information regarding 264 BC, for which we do not have the text of Livy, is extremely fragmentary. We know that M. Fulvius celebrated a triumph for his victory over Volsinii thanks to the *Fasti Triumphales*, and in the same year he might have also vowed the temple of Vortumnus, which contained a fresco representing his triumph.¹⁷ We do not know anything else about the circumstances of the vow. Zonaras writes that in 265 BC the citizens of Volsinii had their town taken over by servants (*οἰκέται*), and they requested help from Rome: although the story sounds quite implausible, it suggests that there was internal discord in the town, and one of the factions appealed to the Romans.¹⁸ The sketchy information on the events of 264 BC does not allow us to get a clear idea of the circumstances of Fulvius' gifts to Fortuna and Mater Matuta. However, as in the case of Sp. Carvilius, we can see that the offer was connected with a military triumph. Moreover, like Carvilius, Fulvius does not establish an entirely new cult of Fortuna, but honours a pre-existing aspect of the goddess, in conjunction with Mater Matuta. Like Carvilius, Fulvius was the member of a prestigious plebeian gens, and he also offers his gift in a

¹⁵ CIL 1² 977–980 = ILLRP 96–99. Giovagnoli 2012.

¹⁶ CIL 1² 2836 = CIL 6 40895: *M(arcos) Foly[io(s) Q(uinti) f(ilius), cos]ol [dede]d Volsi[niis] cap[tis]*. The correct interpretation of the fragments was determined by Torelli 1968. See Pisani Sartorio 1995, 283.

¹⁷ Insc. It. 13, 1, p. 547; Festus, p. 288; Aronen 1999; Ziolkowski 1992, 183–5.

¹⁸ Zon. 8, 7. Zonaras also attributes the capture of Volsinii to the consul of 265 BC, Q. Fabius.

temple connected with Servius Tullius. It would appear, therefore, that in the early decades of the third century BC families belonging to the plebeian nobility were trying to create a connection between Fortuna and themselves, and they did so through vows and gifts to temples of Fortuna attributed to Servius.

It is during the Hannibalic War, when the text of Livy resumes, that we have the next datable vow to Fortuna, this time with the epithet *Primigenia*.¹⁹ In 204 BC, in the territory of Croton, Hannibal ambushed the army led by the consul P. Sempronius while they were marching, and he inflicted heavy casualties.²⁰ After retreating to the Roman camp, Sempronius dispatched a messenger to the proconsul P. Licinius, and asked him to come as soon as possible with his legions. When the two armies joined forces, Sempronius attacked Hannibal. Livy says that, at the beginning of the battle, Sempronius vowed a temple to Fortuna *Primigenia*, should he vanquish the enemy that day (*si eo die hostes fudisset*), and he went on to win the battle. The temple was dedicated in 194 BC, together with three other shrines vowed or contracted in the previous years.²¹ For each sanctuary Livy gives essential information about the vow, and for Fortuna *Primigenia* he says that the temple was dedicated by the duumvir Q. Marcius Ralla on the Quirinal, and it was vowed ten years before, during the Punic War, by the consul P. Sempronius Sophus, who had also contracted the building during his censorship.²² This piece of information is certainly wrong for two reasons: first of all, the P. Sempronius consul of 204 BC did not have the cognomen Sophus, but Tuditanus; moreover, he could not have contracted the temple when he was a censor, because he held the censorship before the vow took place, in 209 BC.²³ The temple of Fortuna *Primigenia* was one of the three *Fortunae* that stood on the Quirinal according to Vitruvius, who refers to one of the temples as an example of a certain architectural style.²⁴ In the *fasti Antiates Maiores* the anniversary of the dedication of the temple of

¹⁹ Coarelli 1995a; Coarelli 2014, 167–72.

²⁰ Liv. 29, 26, 4–9.

²¹ Liv. 34, 53, 3–7. Cf. Briscoe 1981, 132–3.

²² Liv. 34, 53, 5: *aedem Fortunae Primigeniae in colle Quirinali dedicauit Q. Marcius Ralla, duumvir ad id ipsum creatus: uouerat eam decem annis ante Punico bello P. Sempronius Sophus consul, locauerat idem censor.*

²³ Liv. 27, 9, 7.

²⁴ Vitr. 3, 2, 2: *huius autem exemplar erit ad Tres Fortunae ex tribus quod est proxime portam Collinam.*

Fortuna Primigenia is recorded on the 13 November.²⁵ Fortuna Primigenia used to be identified with Fortuna Publica by modern scholars because another epigraphic calendar, the *fasti Venusini*, had the festival of Fortuna Primigenia on 25 May, the same day in which the *fasti Antiates Maiores*, three other epigraphic calendars, and Ovid record the festival of Fortuna Publica.²⁶ Adam Ziolkowski, however, has demonstrated that Fortuna Primigenia was entirely different from her neighbour on the Quirinal, *Fortuna Publica populi Romani*: as Primigenia and Publica are never identified in any ancient source, it is more likely that there is a mistake in the *fasti Venusini*.²⁷

With regard to the significance of the vow, one can again see a member of a prominent plebeian family offering to build a temple of Fortuna. The circumstances of the vow suggest, again, a Fortuna who bestows victory in battle. In this case, one must notice that victory was gained after an initial defeat. It is worth asking whether the Fortuna Primigenia of the Quirinal was considered to be the same goddess as Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste. This depends partially on whether one thinks that there was an older temple of Fortuna Primigenia at Rome or not, a hypothesis which has recently gained ground in modern scholarship, but I am quite sceptical about it, as I shall discuss in the next section. I believe that the inspiration for the vow of the temple at Rome to Fortuna Primigenia must have been Praenestine, for two reasons. The first is that the circumstances of the vow of Tuditanus after the initial defeat in the ambush near Croton remind us of the salvatory value of Fortuna Primigenia to the Praenestines after their heroic resistance against Hannibal in the siege of Casilinum, in 216 BC. I have discussed how the Praenestine goddess seems to have a strong connection with the concept of salvation.²⁸ The second reason is the epithet Primigenia, a peculiar name which is unknown from any other part of Italy. However, although the

²⁵ Insc. It. 13, 2, p. 530. According to Degraasi, *ad loc.*, and Coarelli 1998, this was the day of the festival of a temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the Capitol. I shall discuss this hypothesis in the next section.

²⁶ Insc. It. 13, 2, p. 461; Ov., *Fast.* 5, 729. The traditional interpretation was still in Champeaux 1982–7, II, esp. 3–35.

²⁷ Ziolkowski 1992, 40–5. This was contested by Coarelli 1998, 129–30, who takes the entry of the *Fasti Venusini* as the foundation day of the temple of Tuditanus, and believes that 13 November is the foundation day of an archaic temple of Fortuna on the Capitol.

²⁸ For Casilinum, see ch.1.

inspiration of the vow of Tuditanus was probably Praenestine, we have no reason to assume that the Fortuna Primigenia of the Quirinal was necessarily considered by the Romans or the Praenestines to be the same goddess who was at Praeneste. When Livy speaks about the vow and the construction of the temple, he makes no mention of the Latin town, and there does not seem to be any perception of a Praenestine status of Fortuna Primigenia at Rome.²⁹ Unlike Sp. Carvilius and M. Fulvius, P. Sempronius did not offer a gift in an existing temple or duplicate existing cults. However, the choice of a Fortuna with the same name as a renowned goddess from a neighbouring town also shows a quite conservative attitude.

Very soon, however, we have evidence of a more daring way of building temples dedicated to Fortunae bearing completely new epithets. In 180 BC, the praetor Q. Fulvius Flaccus vowed a temple to an entirely new Fortuna called Equestris, during a battle in Spain against the Celtiberians.³⁰ Livy's narrative makes very clear that the historian thought that the choice of the epithet was connected with the decisive role played by cavalry during the battle. That year Fulvius was leading military operations in Celtiberia, when he had news that a reorganization of the Roman military forces in Spain was planned, and this forced him to abandon his plans, and lead his army back to Tarraco. It was at a mountain pass (called by Livy *saltus Manlianus*) that the Celtiberians, who had been gathering forces for some time, ambushed the Roman army. According to Livy, the battle was harsh, and the Romans experienced an unstable fortune (40, 40, 1: *uaria fortuna*). Fulvius saw that the Roman army was in trouble; he realized that only vigorous charges of horsemen could win the day, and exhorted the riders to charge with their horses without reins (40, 40, 5: *effrenati*): first the Roman cavalry charged, then the allies. This strategy was successful, the Celtiberians were put to flight, and Fulvius vowed a temple to Fortuna Equestris, and to offer games to Jupiter Optimus Maximus. It is clear that the narrative presented by Livy is an aetiological story which is meant to justify the name of Fortuna Equestris by the circumstances of the battle. Livy also says that, when Fulvius

²⁹ The same goes for the only other reference in Livy to the temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the Quirinal, in which a prodigy took place in 169 BC (43, 13, 5).

³⁰ Liv. 40, 39–40, to be read with Briscoe 2008, 508–13; Coarelli 1995b; Champeaux 1982–7, II, 132–54; Pouille 2004.

came back to Rome, he was elected consul, celebrated his triumph, and generously rewarded his army, especially the cavalry.³¹

Whether the battle in Celtiberia was really won because of the essential contribution of the cavalry or not, I think that Fulvius wanted to create a temple to a Fortuna who would be especially connected with Roman knights, *equites equo publico*, the wealthiest class of Roman census, for whom a horse was provided by the state, which also included the senators in the early second century BC.³² They formed a Roman census-class, and also served as cavalry in wartime. Knights long had religious ceremonies in their honour when the temple of Fortuna Equestris was built, the most important was a parade celebrated on 15 July, and instituted in 304 BC.³³ It is likely that the economic and political importance of non-senatorial knights augmented considerably in the early second century BC, when the Romans had increasing interests in the East which required public contracts. By showing his goodwill to the Roman knights, and providing them with their own Fortuna, Fulvius was probably also paving his way to win the consular elections of that year. The connection between Fortuna Equestris and knights appears much later, when Tacitus informs us that in AD 22 the Roman knights wanted to offer a gift to Fortuna Equestris but, as at the time the temple of Fulvius had perhaps just been destroyed by fire, they offered their gift to Fortuna Equestris at Antium—but here Roman knights had already become a separate class from the senators, unlike at the time of the original dedication of the temple.³⁴ In the early second century BC there is other evidence for an interest in deities connected with cavalry, and the Dioskouroi in particular.³⁵ After Cynoscephalae, in 197 BC, T. Flamininus offered to them some inscribed gifts at Delphi, on which their 'swift horsemanship' (*κραϊπνή ἵπποσύνη*) was praised.³⁶ At the time of the battle of Pydna, in 168 BC, visions of

³¹ Liv. 40, 43, 7.

³² Nicolet 1966, 25–47; 103–12.

³³ Liv. 9, 46, 15; Dion. Hal. 6, 13, 4; Val. Max. 2, 2, 9; Plin., *NH* 15, 19.

³⁴ Tac., *Ann.* 3, 71. This implies that the temple of Fulvius fell in ruins just a few years earlier, in the late Augustan period, after Vitruvius (3, 3, 2) commented on its appearance. Champeaux 1982–7, II, 135, convincingly suggested that the temple was destroyed only in the previous year by the same fire that damaged the theatre of Pompey, cf. Tac., *Ann.* 3, 72.

³⁵ I am grateful to Amber Gartrell for advising on this point.

³⁶ Plut., *Flam.* 12.

the Dioskouroi announcing the Roman victory were reported.³⁷ The temple of Castor in the forum was rebuilt around the same time, and this has been associated with the prodigy of Pydna and with L. Aemilius Paullus.³⁸ The popularity of Castor in this period makes the creation of a new deity connected with cavalry by Q. Fulvius Flaccus even more remarkable. Quintus was following a family tradition, established by his ancestor M. Fulvius Flaccus with his gifts to Fortuna and Mater Matuta in 264 BC, and honouring the clearly well-established connection of Fortuna with plebeians, but he was also going much further, effectively creating a new goddess Fortuna, with no 'Servian' connection. It is worth noticing how, although the knights of the Tiberian period were extremely different from the knights of Q. Fulvius, they still regarded Fortuna Equestris as their own. One can see that changes to the institution of *equites* brought about the attribution of new meanings to Fortuna Equestris, so that the goddess would match the new social reality.

Q. Fulvius Flaccus obtained the censorship in 173 BC, when the construction works of the temple must have been almost finished. In that year he decided to steal the marble tiles of the roof of the famous temple of Hera Lacinia, near Croton, in order to decorate the temple of Fortuna Equestris, so that it would be the most impressive in the city.³⁹ When the matter became known to the senate, Fulvius was summoned to the Curia, and was accused of abusing his position of censor to commit an act of impiety that not even Pyrrhus or Hannibal dared to do. The senate ordered him to perform a sacrifice of expiation to Juno, and to return the tiles to their original place. Bruno Pouille has recently suggested that Flaccus identified Hera Lacinia with Fortuna Equestris: he thinks that he despoiled the Greek temple for this reason, and the senate reacted against it because they thought that Fortuna had to be identified with Tyche.⁴⁰ However, it is unlikely that this was the motive of Flaccus, and even more improbable that this was the cause of the reaction of the senate. On the one hand, the translation of Fortuna as Tyche was well established by 173 BC, and, on the other, the senate was clearly objecting to the plunder of the temple rather than to the destination of the loot. The senate was

³⁷ Cic., *nat. deo.* 2, 6; 3, 11; Plut., *Aem.* 24–5; Val. Max. 1, 8, 1; Plin., *NH* 7, 86; Flor. 1, 28, 14–15.

³⁸ Poulsen 1992, 50.

³⁹ Liv. 42, 3. Briscoe 2012, 158–63.

⁴⁰ Pouille 2004, 78.

following the application of a policy of immunity from plunder to the Greek temples in the south of Italy, which was inaugurated in 204 BC with the decision to perform expiatory sacrifices following the sack of the temple of Persephone at Locri by Roman officers.⁴¹ We know from Vitruvius that the temple was close to a stone theatre (3, 3, 2: *ad theatrum lapideum*), and a late Republican inscription proves that this was the name applied to the theatre of Pompey.⁴²

The last Republican temple of Fortuna we can date with certainty was vowed on the battlefield by Q. Lutatius Catulus, who was fighting with Marius against the Cimbri, near Vercellae in 101 BC. The only account mentioning the vow of Q. Lutatius is the battle narrative presented by Plutarch, which is also the most extensive source on the battle.⁴³ The narrative of the battle is constructed with a focus on the rivalry between Marius and Catulus, and this is reflected also in the respective vows: Marius is said to have raised his hands to the sky and to have vowed a hecatomb to the gods, whereas Catulus vowed a temple to the Fortuna of that day (τὴν Τύχην τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνης), Fortuna Huiusce Diei, which we know from the calendars had a festival on 30 July, the same day in which the battle was fought, and that the temple was located in the Campus Martius (*fasti Allifani: in Campo*).⁴⁴ We know that Catulus himself offered to the goddess statues which were kept in the temple.⁴⁵ Modern scholarship has established that the temple is to be identified with the circular temple in Largo Argentina (Temple B, Fig. 4.1), and that this was most likely the first and probably only temple offered to Fortuna Huiusce Diei.⁴⁶ Fragments

⁴¹ Wells 2010. Cf. Liv. 29, 21.

⁴² AE 1987, 67 = Panciera 1986. The inscription must be late Republican because a Cornelius was censor (a position reserved to members of the imperial family from the Augustan period), and there was a stone theatre (the first ever was built by Pompey). See also Coarelli 1997, 268–75; Coarelli 1995b, 268–9. We know from the *fasti Antiates Maiores* that the festival was on 13 August (*Inscr. It.* 13, 2, p. 494).

⁴³ Plut., *Mar.* 25–7.

⁴⁴ Plut., *Mar.* 26, 3: ἐνταῦθα νυψάμενος ὁ Μάριος τὰς χεῖρας καὶ πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχὼν, εὐξάτο τοῖς θεοῖς καθ' ἑκατόμβης· εὐξάτο δὲ καὶ Κάτλος ὁμοίως ἀνασχὼν τὰς χεῖρας καθιερώσειν τὴν Τύχην τῆς ἡμέρας ἐκεῖνης. Cf. *Inscr. It.* 13, 2, p. 488 (*Fasti Pinciani* and *Allifani*).

⁴⁵ Plin., *NH* 34, 54.

⁴⁶ The identification with Temple B was first proposed by Boyancé 1940 on the basis of Varr., *re rust.* 3, 5, 12. See also Coarelli 1997, 275–93. Champeaux 1982–7, II, 154–63 has convincingly asserted that there was no previous temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei dedicated by Aemilius Paullus (as was argued on the basis of Plin., *NH* 34, 54 and the presence of a *vicus huiusce diei* on the Palatine by several scholars,



Fig. 4.1. Remains of the sanctuary of Fortuna Huiusce Diei at Largo Argentina, Rome.

Photograph by the author. © Sovrintendenza ai Beni Culturali, Comune di Roma.

of an acrolithic statue of considerable dimensions were found in the remains of the temple, probably the cultic statue of Fortuna.⁴⁷

The only ancient author commenting on the significance of the goddess is Cicero, who in *De legibus* glosses Fortuna Huiusce Diei with *nam valet in omnis dies*.⁴⁸ This expression must be understood in the context of the argument developed. The character speaking is Cicero himself, and he is commenting on the laws on religion that he has stated in a previous section of the dialogue (2, 19). His argument is that virtues or qualities enable men to access heaven (2, 19), and it is right to worship them, whereas the same is not true for vices, like Bad Luck (Mala Fortuna), and Fever (Febris). I shall discuss this passage thoroughly in a subsequent chapter, but it is clear that the central argument is the usefulness of the worship of virtues as opposed to

including Boyancé 1940, 67). Coarelli 1997, 276 argued that Catulus might have included a small shrine to Fortuna Huiusce Diei in the *porticus* he built on the Palatine, and this might have given its name to the *vicus*. See also Gros 1995.

⁴⁷ Martin 1992, 103–11; 213–15.

⁴⁸ *De leg.* 2, 28.

vices, and this includes Fortuna Huiusce Diei.⁴⁹ If she was to help mankind access heaven, it is clear that the power of the goddess could not be limited to a single day but had to be present every day. The interpretation of the goddess is, therefore, openly influenced by the philosophical argument presented. According to Champeaux, Cicero's explanation is wholly artificial, and the goddess was only characterized as the one bestowing victory in the battle of Vercellae: this was the one and only day in which Fortuna Huiusce Diei manifested her power.⁵⁰ Coarelli speculatively argued that, as the plan of the temple reminds us of the shape of a *tessera frumentaria*, this might have been the meaning of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, a goddess who would supervise the daily distribution of grain.⁵¹ Anna Clark has most recently underlined how the vow to Fortuna Huiusce Diei must have been in direct contrast with the vow of a temple to Honos and Virtus by Marius, which might have happened during the battle, although Plutarch does not mention it.⁵² It is clear from Plutarch's account that the two men argued over who should get credit for the victory of Vercellae, and if Clark's hypothesis is right, one can see also a conceptual contrast between the two men, which is reflected by their respective choice of deities, Marius' Virtus and Honos against Catulus' Fortuna Huiusce Diei. This would have been certainly based on a rich topos of Hellenistic philosophy and historiography, which characterized *tyche* and *arete* as leading influences in the lives of men. Although Cicero's interpretation is unquestionably based on the argument he was formulating, I do not find it very sensible to argue that the goddess Fortuna Huiusce Diei was only a divine memorial of the battle of Vercellae. Like the other Fortunae we have encountered, there is little doubt that Fortuna Huiusce Diei was open to multiple interpretations, and it is not unlikely that she was interpreted as both the goddess who bestowed victory against the Cimbri and the Fortuna of specific days, according to the needs and expectations of the worshippers and the other individuals approaching her.

It is worth enquiring if, and to what extent, Fortuna Huiusce Diei was mentioned in Catulus' own writings. Plutarch explicitly refers to the memoirs of Sulla before and after the information on the vow, and

⁴⁹ See ch.7. ⁵⁰ Champeaux 1982–7, II, 164–5.

⁵¹ Coarelli 1997, 288–91.

⁵² Clark 2007, 127–31; for the vow, see the *elogium* of Marius from Arretium CIL 11 1831: *de manubiis Cimbric(is) et Teuton(icis) aedem Honori et Virtuti victor fecit*. Gilbert 1973 argued that Sallust constructed a profound historiographical relationship between Marius and *fortuna*.

it is possible that this was also the source of the story of the vow, although he also quotes Catulus' own writings shortly afterwards.⁵³ Plutarch's passage is our most important and perhaps only source of fragments from Catulus' work, which would appear to have been a quite short pamphlet written in order to defend the merits of his deeds during the war against the Cimbri and Teutones.⁵⁴ Christopher Smith has recently argued that, although Plutarch might have used one or more other sources, it is most likely that the narrative of the battle of Vercellae comes directly from the memoirs of Sulla, and the references to the pamphlet of Catulus are second-hand quotations.⁵⁵ As a matter of fact, Plutarch quotes a fragment of Sulla, in which he reportedly wrote that 'by chance (ἀπὸ τύχης) the barbarians clashed with Catulus, and the struggle was mostly with him and his soldiers, amongst whom Sulla says he was himself posted.'⁵⁶ This makes it likely that the story of the vow to Fortuna Huiusce Diei was included by Sulla in his account in order to create a connection between Catulus' vow and Sulla's presence on the battlefield in his autobiography, and might not have been present in Catulus' original pamphlet.

In the construction of the temple of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, we also find elements which we have already encountered several times, and which previous pages have shown were traditional to Roman Fortuna in the Republic. Again, we have a temple vowed on a battlefield, and again it is a member of a prestigious plebeian family making the vow. We also find that Catulus might have followed a traditional family connection, as his relative Q. Lutatius Cerco was involved in the attempt to consult the oracle of Fortuna at Praeneste in 241 BC.⁵⁷

4.2 SANCTUARIES OF UNCERTAIN DATE

We have several references to Fortuna in early Latin literature, although it is very difficult to understand whether or not she is a

⁵³ Plut., *Mar.* 25, 6–7; 26, 3–7 (L. Cornelius Sulla *FRHist* 22 F 8, F 9); 26, 10 (Q. Lutatius Catulus *FRHist* 19 F 2).

⁵⁴ Full discussion by C.J. Smith in *FRHist*, I, 271–3.

⁵⁵ C.J. Smith in *FRHist*, I, 273.

⁵⁶ Plut., *Mar.* 26, 6 (*FRHist* 22 F 9): τῷ δὲ Κάτλῳ τοὺς βαρβάρους ἀπὸ τύχης συρραγῆναι, καὶ γενέσθαι τὸν ἀγῶνα κατ' ἐκείνον καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνου μάλιστα στρατιώτας, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸς ὁ Σύλλας τετάρχαι φησί (trans. Smith).

⁵⁷ See ch.1.

goddess or a rhetorical personification in the absence of explicit references to temples, priests, and acts of worship. Even in such cases, it is doubtful whether we are dealing with references to the Roman goddess, because the Latin text might be inspired by a Greek original. Already in Plautus one can find a good number of references to Fortuna, sometimes with a variety of epithets. In some cases it is clear that these must be considered translations from Greek, or literary inventions of the author. Bona Fortuna in the *Aulularia* is a good example: although Euclio refers to the temple of the goddess being close to his house, this is probably a reference to the Athenian temple of Agathe Tyche.⁵⁸ The same goes for *Adiutrix* ('helper', *Poen.* 972), and *Lucrifera* ('bringer of gains', *Per.* 514–16), both unheard of in the Republican period, and probably just a product of Plautus' creativity.⁵⁹

In other cases, however, we happen to have further evidence which corroborates that the *Fortunae* referred to by Plautus were worshipped, as in the case of *Mala Fortuna*, mentioned by Plautus in the *Rudens*, and who had an altar on the Esquiline referred to by Cicero.⁶⁰ Carmine Ampolo has convincingly argued that this altar, together with other monuments on the Esquiline, might have been connected with the memory of the death of Servius Tullius after his daughter drove over him.⁶¹ Another instance is *Fortuna Obsequens*, referred to by Plautus in the *Asinaria*: as I have discussed in the previous chapter, she was included by Plutarch in his lists of shrines of Fortuna founded by Servius Tullius, translated as *μελιχία*, and she was also worshipped (in the archaic form *Opsequens*) in Cora and the Colli Albani area.⁶² She certainly had a temple, as the Colli Albani inscription mentions a temple keeper (*aeiditimus*), although it is not certain whether it was the same temple referred to by the other

⁵⁸ 98–102.

⁵⁹ *Adiutrix* should not even be considered an epithet in the proper sense, as the sentence reads: *Poen.* 973: *aliqua Fortuna fuerit adiutrix tibi*. Champeaux 1982–7, II, 105–6.

⁶⁰ 501–4, cf. Cic., *De leg.* 2, 28; *nat. deo.* 2, 16. Also Plin., *NH* 2, 5, 16 (clearly Ciceronian). Aronen 1995b; Marroni 2010, 86–91.

⁶¹ Ampolo 1996, 31–2. Marroni 2010, 86–91 goes too far seeing a Phoenician influence in the story.

⁶² Plaut., *Asin.* 716–19; Plut., *Fort. Rom.* 10; *Rom. Quest.* 74. See ch.2, cf. ILLRP 111; Panciera 1991, no 36. Chioffi 1995 (Chioffi thinks that the Colli Albani inscription refers to personnel of the Roman temple rather than of a different, suburban temple). The famous inscription of the *vicomagistri* of AD 136 records a *vicus Fortunae Obsequentis* in regio I (CIL 6 975).

sources. Fortuna Respiciens ('who looks backwards') is likewise referred to by Plautus in the *Captivi*, and she is also mentioned by Cicero in the passage of *De legibus* I have quoted several times, where her name is explained as 'she who looks back to the assistance which must be provided' (*Respiciens ad opem ferendam*).⁶³ She is also one of the Fortunae in Plutarch's lists of Servian temples, translated in Greek as ἐπιστρεφόμενη.⁶⁴ The fragments of a terracotta pediment from the mid second century BC have been attributed to Fortuna Respiciens, because there is a seated female figure represented looking backwards. If this attribution is right, it would confirm that there was a temple dedicated to the goddess around 150 BC.⁶⁵ I think that one is forced to conclude that these different Fortunae must have existed before the decades between the third and the second centuries BC, when Plautus wrote. For the Fortunae who had proper temples, Obsequens and Respiciens, the likely date of foundation must probably be in the gap of Livy (293–218 BC). For Mala Fortuna, it is difficult to formulate hypotheses, as an altar might have easily escaped Livy's attention. Later authors occasionally make references to Fortuna, but usually in contexts in which there is no cultic reference.⁶⁶

Of the three Fortunae on the Quirinal mentioned by Vitruvius, as I have discussed above, only Fortuna Primigenia can be dated with certainty. One of the other temples was dedicated to Fortuna Publica Populi Romani Quiritium, whose anniversary was on 25 May, as we know from epigraphic calendars, some of which specify that the temple was *in colle*, with the exception of the *fasti Venusini* which record for that day the festival of Fortuna Primigenia *in colle*.⁶⁷ The third temple was also dedicated to Fortuna Publica, the festival was on 5 April, and it was recorded by the *fasti Antiates Maiores* and the *fasti Praenestini*, in which the temple is called Citerior, to distinguish it from the temple dedicated on 25 May.⁶⁸ Ziolkowski and

⁶³ Plaut., *Cap.* 833–5; Cic., *De leg.* 2, 28. Anselmino-Strazzulla 1995. In the *vicomagistri* inscription (CIL 6 975) and in the regional catalogues, a *vicus Fortunae Respicientis* is recorded in regio X (Palatium).

⁶⁴ Plut., *Fort. Rom.* 10; *Rom. Quest.* 74.

⁶⁵ See Strazzulla 1993; Ferrea 2002; Coarelli 2012, 200–19, with discussion of the iconography and further bibliography.

⁶⁶ Champeaux 1982–7, II, 171–213. Some of these passages will be discussed in ch.7.

⁶⁷ Inscr. It, 13, 2, p. 461; cf. Ovid., *Fast.* 5, 729.

⁶⁸ Inscr. It, 13, 2, p. 437, cf. Ovid., *Fast.* 4, 373.

Coarelli have formulated hypotheses on the identities of the founders. According to Ziolkowski, the founder might have been Q. Lutatius Cerco, the consul who was prevented from consulting the oracle of Fortuna at Praeneste in 241 BC, whereas for Coarelli it might be P. Sempronius Sophus, the consul of 268 BC. In favour of Lutatius, there is his documented interest for Fortuna; in favour of Sempronius, Coarelli argues that Livy's mistaken attribution of the temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the Quirinal to Sophus and not Tuditanus might depend on the confusion of the historian between two founders of adjacent temples coming from the same gens.⁶⁹ Sophus was also the founder of the colony of Beneventum, where an inscribed gift to Fortuna Publica was recorded.⁷⁰ I find both hypotheses possible, and they would fit very well a picture of plebeian aristocrats offering gifts to Fortuna which has emerged very strongly from this chapter.

The epithet Publica attached to Fortuna from the third century BC and unattested for any other god or goddess shows a strong political significance of Fortuna: the full name of the deity as attested in epigraphic calendars is Fortuna Publica populi Romani. As I have observed several times in this chapter there seems to be a very strong connection between the goddess Fortuna and plebeian aristocrats. The major event for the Roman plebs in the institutional history of the third century BC is, of course, the promulgation of the *lex Hortensia* in 287 BC.⁷¹ The law, promoted by the dictator Q. Hortensius to resolve a crisis followed by a secession of the plebs, probably lifted existing limitations to the power of the council of the plebs to pass legislation, thus making the decrees of the council (plebiscites) laws in all respects.⁷² The plebeian political elite of the time, increasingly detached from the rest of the plebs, must have tried to represent this law as a major political achievement. I wonder if the emergence of Fortuna Publica might be seen, as a result of these events, as an attempt to represent a very important goddess connected with the plebs as representative of the whole Roman people, as the council of the plebs became able to pass laws that applied to the whole citizen body. The translatability of Fortuna and Tyche helped create a very

⁶⁹ Ziolkowski 1992, 40–5; Coarelli 1998; Coarelli 1995a; Coarelli 2014, 167–72.

⁷⁰ See ch.2.

⁷¹ Liv. *per.* 11; Plin., *NH* 16, 37; Laelius Felix fr. 2 (Huschke); Gaius 1, 3; Pomp., *dig.* 1, 2, 2, 8.

⁷² Cornell 1995, 377–80.

significant development during the second and the first centuries BC, namely the association between Fortuna Publica and Roman imperialism, which probably originated from a debate on Roman imperialism in the Greek world. We can see the traces of this debate mostly in Polybius, who deals in different ways with the idea that Roman expansion in the Greek world was mostly due to fortune (*tyche*). In a key passage at the very beginning of the work he seems to look favourably at the idea that Roman domination is the result of the power of *tyche*.

1, 4, 1: τὸ γὰρ τῆς ἡμετέρας πραγματείας ἴδιον καὶ τὸ θαυμάσιον τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς καιρῶν τοῦτ' ἔστιν ὅτι, καθάπερ ἡ τύχη σχεδὸν ἅπαντα τὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης πράγματα πρὸς ἓν ἔκλινε μέρος καὶ πάντα νεύειν ἠνάγκασε πρὸς ἓνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν σκοπόν, οὕτως καὶ (δεῖ) διὰ τῆς ἱστορίας ὑπὸ μίαν σύννοψιν ἀγαγεῖν τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι τὸν χειρισμὸν τῆς τύχης, ᾧ κέχρηται πρὸς τὴν τῶν ὅλων πραγμάτων συντέλειαν.

For what gives my work its peculiar quality, and what is most remarkable in the present age, is this. Fortune has guided almost all the affairs of the world in one direction and has forced them to incline towards one and the same end; a historian should likewise bring before his readers under one synoptical view the operations by which she has accomplished her general purpose (trans. W.R. Paton).

In subsequent passages, however, Polybius questions the idea that *tyche* was solely responsible for the success of the Romans. After the story of Roman victory during the First Punic War, he says that Roman success does not depend 'on *tyche*, as some among the Greeks think' (1, 63, 9: οὐ τύχῃ Ῥωμαῖοι, καθάπερ ἔνιοι δοκοῦσι τῶν Ἑλλήνων). According to Walbank, this does not necessarily stand in contradiction to the passage quoted above; for Polybius the success of Roman expansion was favoured by *tyche*, but also depended on other causes, as is made clear by other passages.⁷³ I am not going to discuss in detail *tyche* in Polybius, a vast topic which has generated massive scholarly interest⁷⁴, but what is important here is the connection between *tyche* and imperialism, a connection which was a well-established commonplace in classical historiography, as one can see from the Melian dialogue in Thucydides, in which *tyche* plays a significant role in the

⁷³ Walbank 1957–79, I, 129; Polyb. 18, 24, 4–5.

⁷⁴ Just to point at recent scholarship which can be consulted for further bibliography: Hau 2011; Brouwer 2011; Walbank 2007.

dispute between the Melians and the powerful Athenians, or from the story of the ruin of Croesus and the Persian conquest of Lydia in Herodotus book 1.⁷⁵ Polybius himself openly connected *tyche* with Macedonian imperialism when he reflects on the defeat of Perseus and the fall of Macedon, quoting a passage from a lost work *On fortune* by Demetrius of Phaleron (29, 21 = F 81 Wehrli). Writing shortly after the conquests of Alexander the Great, Demetrius marvelled at the power of *tyche*, noting that no one would have thought that one day the Macedonians would overthrow the Persian Empire, and also warned that, one day, *tyche* may take her favours back from Macedon. The way in which Polybius refers to Demetrius' prediction also highlights the potential danger of *tyche* to the Romans: although the historian does not say so, as the Persians and the Macedonians fell, one day the Romans will fall too. From a subaltern perspective, it is reasonable to think that the Greeks who attributed the Roman success to the power of *tyche* mentioned above (1, 63, 9) were hoping that Demetrius' prediction would also apply to the Romans, and this highlights how fortune could become a politically significant concept.

It is plausible that, in Latin translation, Tyche became Fortuna, and the argument became connected with the goddess Fortuna. As Champeaux remarked, Ennius in the *Annals* uses *fortuna* several times in connection with *regnum* with regard to Roman and foreign kings, although, at least in extant fragments, he does not relate the two words to the Roman Republic.⁷⁶ L. Coelius Antipater, who wrote a history of the Hannibalic War in the late second century BC, might have been influenced by this debate on the role of fortune in Roman success. He certainly used the expression *fortuna rei publicae* in a speech, although its context and the exact meaning of the passage are not entirely clear.⁷⁷ The words might have been put in the mouth of a Carthaginian character, who attributed the success of the Romans to

⁷⁵ Hdt. 1, 126 and *passim*. See Asheri 2007, 103–4. Th. 5, 84–116. Eidinow 2011, 105–15; 124–5.

⁷⁶ See Champeaux 1982–7, II, 172–84, with *Ann.* 6, 183–90; 9, 312–13 Skutsch, to which must be added *Ann.* 1, 102–3 Skutsch. See also Martin 1994, 316–18.

⁷⁷ *FRHist* 15 F 45: *ita uti sese quisque vobis studeat aemulari in statu fortunae rei publicae, eadem re gesta, toppe nihilominore negotio acto gratia minor esset*, which John Briscoe translates as 'in such a way that in the condition of the fortune of the state each man aims to vie with you, having done the same thing, yet perhaps, though no less a service had been performed, the thanks would be less'. See Briscoe's commentary for the peculiarities of language and syntax.

fortune, expressing a view similar to ‘some among the Greeks’ in Polybius, although without context many hypotheses are possible. What is certain is that, without further qualification, *fortuna rei publicae* must have referred to Rome. Moreover, there can be little doubt that, once the *tyche* creator of empires was translated as *fortuna rei publicae*, the connection with the goddess Fortuna Publica Populi Romani would have been very easy to make. It is very likely that some of the Romans contemporary to Polybius shared the view expressed by Cicero in a passage of *De re publica* which, according to Walbank, might be derived from Polybius: ‘you will see that the Roman people grew strong not by chance but by planning and discipline, if not without some help from fortune.’⁷⁸ As I shall discuss in the subsequent chapter, Cicero connected the *Fortuna populi Romani* and Roman imperialism also in speeches.⁷⁹

Several scholars have argued that there was an archaic temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the Capitol, predating the temple of Tuditanus on the Quirinal.⁸⁰ The evidence is as follows: in the *fasti Antiates Maiores* the anniversary of the dedication of the temple of Fortuna Primigenia is recorded on 13 November, and on the same day the *fasti Arvalium* have *Fortun(ae) Prim(igeniae) in C*, which the supporters of an archaic temple of Fortuna on the Capitol believe must be supplemented as *in C(apitolio)*, but may also be *in C(olle)*.⁸¹ As I have mentioned above, the *fasti Venusini* have *Fortun(ae) Prim(igeniae) in Col(le)* on 25 May, a day in which all other epigraphic calendars and Ovid say there was the festival of Fortuna Publica. As I have mentioned in the previous chapter, Plutarch refers to a temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the Capitol.⁸² A stone from Praeneste is inscribed with an epigraphic poem dedicated to Fortuna Primigenia, dated by consular year to AD 136, and the poet hails the goddess as ‘you, who are worshipped on Mount Tarpeius, close to the thundering (Jupiter)’.⁸³ Augustine makes a reference to the presence of the wet nurse (*nutrix*)

⁷⁸ 2, 30: *intellegesque non fortuito populum Romanum, sed consilio et disciplina confirmatum esse nec tamen adversante fortuna*, trans. Zetzel. Walbank 1957–79, I, 129.

⁷⁹ Ch.5, especially the *Pro lege Manilia* in 66 BC. See also Mastrorosa 2012.

⁸⁰ Aronen 1995a; Coarelli 1998; Mazzei 2007.

⁸¹ Insc. It. 13, 2, p. 530.

⁸² Plut., *Fort. Rom.* 10: ἰδρύσατο δ' οὖν Τύχης ἱερὸν ἐν μὲν Καπετωλίῳ τὸ τῆς Πριμυγενείας λεγομένης, ὃ πρωτογόνου τις ἂν ἐρμηνεύσειε.

⁸³ CIL 14 2852 = CLE 249: *Tu quae Tarpeio coleris vicina Tonanti*.

of Jupiter on the Capitol.⁸⁴ Finally, Clement of Alexandria underlines that, although the Romans held the goddess Fortuna in great regard, they worshipped her in a lavatory, which is taken to mean the *porta Stercoraria* on the Capitol.⁸⁵ Although some scholars take these sources to refer to an archaic temple of Fortuna, this is extremely doubtful to me. With regard to the Christian sources, Augustine is most likely referring to the temple of Ops (occasionally identified with Rhea) on the Capitol, and Clement's invective is too generic to be any clear reference to the *porta Stercoraria*: for example, it would work well for the temple of Fortuna at the Forum Boarium, which as a cattle market was unlikely to be the cleanest place in town.⁸⁶ Plutarch and the Praenestine inscription certainly refer to a place of cult of Fortuna Primigenia on the Capitol, but they are both late. We can assume that Plutarch's source was a writer of Roman antiquities, but this would not push the information back to before the first century BC, or the early Imperial period. With regard to the epigraphic calendars, I think that the explanation provided by Ziolkowski is still the most convincing: the entry of the *fasti Venusini*, *Fortun(ae) Prim(igeniae) in Col(le)* on 25 May is a mistake for *Fortunae Publicae*, and the entry of the *fasti Arvalium* for 13 November, *Fortun(ae) Prim(igeniae) in C*, must be firmly supplemented with *in C(olle)*.⁸⁷ The conclusion is that there might have been a small place of cult of Fortuna Primigenia on the Capitol from the late Republican or the early Imperial period, but it was perhaps more a small shrine than a proper temple, and it was unlikely to be older than the temple of Tuditanus. If I must formulate a hypothesis, I would say that the small place of cult might have been created by Tiberius when he attempted to bring the lots of Fortuna Primigenia to Rome, as we know from Suetonius.⁸⁸ This would also explain why the epigraphic poem of AD 136 is the first document which openly identifies the Roman Fortuna Primigenia with her Praenestine counterpart.

The temples dedicated to Fortuna in the Republican period show all the complexity and the variety of meanings that could be attached to the goddess. Fortuna is worshipped with many epithets, some of

⁸⁴ Aug., *civ.* 6, 7, 1.

⁸⁵ Clem. Al., *protr.* 4, 51: Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ τὰ μέγιστα κατορθώματα τῇ Τύχῃ ἀνατιθέντες καὶ ταύτην μεγίστην οἰόμενοι θεόν, φέροντες εἰς τὸν κοπρῶνα ἀνέθηκαν αὐτήν, ἄξιον νεὼν τὸν ἀφεδρῶνα νεύμαντες τῇ θεῷ. Aronen 1995a.

⁸⁶ On Ops, see Miano 2015a.

⁸⁷ Ziolkowski 1992, 40–5.

⁸⁸ *Tib.* 63, 1.

whom have a transparent meaning connecting her with specific meanings (Fors, Obsequens, Publica), social groups (Equestris), characteristics of iconography (Respiciens), even temporal qualifications (Huiusce Diei). There are, however, a few tendencies which have strongly emerged in this chapter.

First of all, one can notice a striking difference between the archaic and the Republican temples of Fortuna. As I have observed above, the archaic temples seem to be connected with liminal areas and with the borders of the *ager Romanus*. This does not seem to be a characteristic of many Republican temples of Fortuna, some of which are in fully urban areas like the Palatine and the Quirinal. The first such temple was perhaps the temple of Fortuna Publica on the Quirinal, and it is certainly striking that what was probably the first temple in a fully urban area is dedicated to a Fortuna bearing the epithet Publica, as if it would mark a movement from the liminal spaces of Rome to the centre of Roman political and cultural life.

Following along these lines, it is clear that another important element which has emerged from this chapter is the extremely strong connection between Fortuna and the plebeian elite at Rome. All the temples we have information about were vowed by plebeian aristocrats, and this can hardly be a coincidence. I believe that there must have been a very strong connection between the values and expectations of the members of the plebeian elite and the goddess Fortuna. This is also likely to be one of the key motives of the decision of Q. Fulvius Flaccus to vow a temple to Fortuna Equestris as a deity associated with cavalry, instead of the more traditional (and patrician?) Castor and Pollux. I argued that this connection was especially important for Fortuna Publica, whose introduction I associated with the final phases of the patrician-plebeian struggles. This meaning of Fortuna was probably superseded when fortune was associated with Roman imperialism by Greek writers in the second century BC, and a debate on the extent to which the Roman conquest was due to fortune was associated with Fortuna Publica.

Whereas second-century temple foundations are more innovative, in the third century there seems to be a tendency to duplicate (Sp. Carvilius) or to offer gifts (M. Fulvius Flaccus) in temples of Fortuna connected with the tradition related to Servius Tullius. I believe that this point must be necessarily seen in connection with the connection between plebeians and Fortuna. I think that at least a part of the plebeian image of the king must have been created in this

period: Livy says that the introduction of the consulship was inspired by a constitution attributed to Servius (1, 60, 3); it is hard not to think that this attribution might have been formulated in the decades following the reintroduction of the consulate in 367 BC, when the rules of power-sharing between the patrician and the plebeian elites were slowly put together, the same years in which statues of Servius and the other kings were probably erected on the Capitol.⁸⁹

Although we rarely have information on worshippers of the goddess, we can see the same variety we have encountered at Praeneste. The inscriptions dedicated to Fors Fortuna by the mixture of citizens, freedmen, and slaves who made up professional associations, testify to the great range of different individuals who might approach the goddess and offer gifts to her. The same goes with Fortuna Equestris: although when Q. Fulvius vowed the temple he probably had in mind the cavalry both as a censorial class and as a military unit, when the *equites* were established as a separate order they claimed the goddess as their own. Although Cicero's assessment of Fortuna Huiusce Diei, the good fortune of that day which is also the fortune of every day, is clearly influenced by the philosophical arguments he was formulating, it is a good illustration of the high level of personal interpretation available to those thinking about one or the other Fortuna.

⁸⁹ Cornell 1995, 369–77. For the statues, see Cass. Dio 43, 45, 4.

To Each His Own

Previous chapters have shown how at Praeneste and other Italian towns we often encounter individuals and groups offering gifts to Fortuna. We have seen that the impressive variety of background of these individuals and groups testifies to a broad range of possible interpretations of Fortuna, with each agent giving a certain meaning to the goddess. At Rome one finds a similar variety of meanings. It was pointed out in the previous chapter that there were associations between Fortuna and both the *equites* and the plebeians, which means that these groups were making claims on the goddess and attributing different meanings to her.¹

The aim of this chapter is to explore two aspects of this attribution of different meanings to Fortuna in the city of Rome. The first regards the epithets of Fortuna that connect her to a variety of age and gender groups. As we have seen, in earlier scholarship these kinds of Fortuna have been traced back to the archaic period and Servius Tullius through the forced identification of Queen Tanaquil with the goddess. Another reason why such cults have been considered archaic is the assumption that anything connected with sexuality and age classes must necessarily be archaic and 'primitive', as in Champeaux's reconstruction of the original Fortuna as a Great Mother linked to fertility and sexuality.² This argument does not stand up to closer scrutiny: there is no good reason to infer that any form of Fortuna connected with gender must be ancient for this reason only. The oldest sources on most of these Fortunae date from the late Republic and the Augustan period, and we can be confident that by this time several personae of the goddess were connected with gender and age classes.

¹ Ch.4.

² See ch.3.

Celia Schultz has successfully demonstrated that it is only modern bias that associates the religious practices of women with biological fertility, ignoring the elements pointing to the social construction of gender.³ The presence of feminine epithets led Wissowa to the theory of Fortuna as a goddess of women.⁴ Other epithets also led Gagé to think of Fortuna as a goddess of age classes.⁵ My contention is that these Fortunae do not belong to a 'primitive' form of Roman religion, and can rarely be connected to fertility or rites of passage. Although many epithets of Fortuna are gendered, when we have sufficient information on these cults, we can see that people of all kinds venerated the goddess, and that she was far from being a 'goddess of women'. Moreover, several social and political meanings are attached to the gendered aspects of Fortuna.

The second aspect this chapter will analyse is how individuals, and great generals in particular, created links between themselves and Fortuna in late Republican Rome. As shown in the earlier chapters, many individuals in Italy offered gifts to Fortuna, and in so doing laid claim to particular meanings of Fortuna, and often created new ones. Epigraphic evidence for these private acts of worship in the city of Rome is scarce. In fact, the only relevant inscription from the city of Rome other than those referred to in the previous chapter records the offer of an inscribed altar to Fortuna by a T. Quintius in the late second or early first century BC, and even this was done in accordance with a decree of the senate.⁶ Incidentally, this is also the only certainly known instance of a gift to Fortuna by a patrician. The (mostly plebeian) aristocrats who erected temples to the goddess in the third and second centuries BC did so on behalf of the Republic. From the first century BC we have evidence of an increasing tendency to regard *fortuna* as the personal attribute of a successful political leader. This is attested for exceptionally charismatic individuals, dynasts like Sulla, Pompey, or Caesar. In some cases we can analyse this connection in more detail because the person in question left their own writings which can be read either directly (Caesar), or through fragments (Sulla). Champeaux, and Weinstock before her, argued that these military leaders showed an increasing tendency to fuse together the worship of the goddess Fortuna with an idea of *fortuna* as their personal attribute. The result would be that under

³ Schultz 2006.

⁴ Wissowa 1912², 256–60.

⁵ Gagé 1963, 24–100.

⁶ CIL 1² 656 = ILLRP 95, mentioned in ch. 1.

Caesar, Fortuna became a personal Fortuna Caesaris, a tutelary goddess who looked after Caesar's person and is reminiscent of the personal Tyche of Hellenistic monarchs, frequently worshipped by their subjects, or of later imperial practices.⁷ In my view this reconstruction is questionable: although *fortuna* was seen as an important personal attribute of victorious generals from Sulla to Caesar, and although the worship of the goddess Fortuna remained popular, Sulla, Pompey, and Caesar were in varying degrees reluctant to link themselves directly with the goddess, and they certainly did not give to Fortuna the meanings of a personal tutelary goddess in the fashion of Hellenistic monarchs.

5.1 EPITHETS CONNECTED WITH GENDER

We have already encountered a gendered Fortuna Muliebris ('womanly Fortune') in our discussion of the archaic period, and have seen that there are good reasons to believe that the temple was established c.486 BC.⁸ Dionysius of Halicarnassus, our most extensive source, gives a description of the organization of the cult in the Republican or Augustan period.

Dionysius explains that, when the temple was established, the senate ordered that the pontiffs should supervise the organization of the sacred space, but that the matrons should appoint one of their number to perform the rites (8, 55, 3). After telling the story of the speaking statue, Dionysius briefly defines the groups involved in ritual activity during the festival of the goddess:

ἡ μὲν οὖν βουλὴ ὡς ταῦτ' ἔμαθεν ἐψηφίσατο θυσίας ἄλλας καὶ σεβασμούς, οὓς ἂν οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταὶ παραδώσι καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐπιτελεῖν. αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐν ἔθει κατεστήσαντο τῇ τῆς ἱερείας χρησάμεναι γνώμῃ, τῷ ξοάνῳ τούτῳ μήτε στεφάνους ἐπιτιθέναι μήτε χεῖρας προσφέρειν γυναῖκας, ὅσαι δευτέρων ἐπειράθησαν γάμων, τὴν δὲ τιμὴν καὶ θεραπείαν αὐτοῦ πᾶσαν ἀποδεδόσθαι ταῖς νεογάμοις (8, 56, 4).

The senate, upon hearing what had passed, ordered other sacrifices and rites to be performed every year, such as the interpreters of religious

⁷ Weinstock 1971, Divus Julius, 112–27; Champeaux 1982–7, II, 259–91. Still followed by Norena 2011, 49.

⁸ See ch.3.

rites should direct. And the women upon the advice of their priestess established it as a custom that no women who had been married a second time should crown this statue with garlands or touch it with their hands, but that all the honour and worship paid to it should be committed to the newly-married women (trans. E. Cary).

We have, on the one hand, the pontiffs, ‘interpreters of religious rites’ (οἱ τῶν ἱερῶν ἐξηγηταί) in charge of supervising the yearly sacrifices and rituals (θυσίας καὶ σεβασμούς). On the other hand, there are the ‘women’ (γυναῖκες) who, on the advice of a priestess (ἱέρεια), established that only those in their first marriage, called *univirae* in Latin, should be allowed to touch the speaking statue and crown it with garlands, with the honour reserved especially to newly-wed women. There are three things to notice here. First of all, nothing indicates that the cult was reserved to women, but only that women who married once could touch the statue. Secondly, the passage clearly presupposes some kind of organized association of women, who appointed a priestess and controlled part of the ritual activity. We have already noted the epigraphic evidence for gifts collectively offered by matrons from Praeneste and Pisaurum, and a cultic organization of some kind must have been in place for the sanctuary on the Via Latina.⁹ Thirdly, Fortuna Muliebris clearly had functions that went beyond that of a goddess of women: the temple was sanctioned by the senate and supervised by pontiffs, and it commemorated the salvation of the city from Coriolanus. Celia Schultz has concluded from the connection between Fortuna Muliebris and Coriolanus that the goddess was not limited to fertility and motherhood.¹⁰ The individuals who had dealings with the goddess were not necessarily all women, especially if it is true, as Tim Cornell has argued, that dramatic performances of the Coriolanus story were enacted on the anniversary of the event.¹¹ It would seem that Fortuna Muliebris was a goddess connected with women, but probably not exclusively, and the meanings attached to her do not seem to include fertility. Moreover, the womanhood connected with the goddess was not merely biological but social. The evidence implies a specific group of women who formed some kind of association, which was able to elect priestesses and to direct certain aspects of the cult under the supervision of the pontiffs.

⁹ See ch.1.

¹⁰ Schultz 2006, 37–44.

¹¹ See ch.3.

Fortuna Muliebris was connected with married women, but there was also a Fortuna Virgo. Unfortunately, she is known from only three sources, all very brief and one fragmentary. Varro argued against those who identified a statue veiled by two togas with Fortuna Virgo, but the fragment in question does not provide Varro's preferred explanation.¹² This passage has already been discussed in connection with the veiled statue in the Forum Boarium, which modern scholarship has shown to be distinct from Fortuna Virgo.¹³ In his lists of Servian temples, Plutarch mentions a shrine of Tyche Parthenos (Fortuna Virgo) near a place called *fons Muscosus* (*Fort. Rom.* 10), but the text is corrupt and the location uncertain.¹⁴ Finally, Arnobius mentions the custom of taking the little togas of girls to Fortuna Virginalis in a list of obsolete traditions.¹⁵ It is most likely that Fortuna Virginalis is identical to Fortuna Virgo, and Arnobius turned the epithet into adjectival form. The two traditions that precede it in the list are both related to marriage. This may imply that the offer of childhood *togulae* happened at the time of marriage, but does not certainly do so, as Arnobius' list continues with unrelated examples. Although there is no direct connection with the goddess, it is significant that when Cicero asks Verres about the confiscated property of Annius Asellus, he refers to the toga of Annius' daughter as the ornament of her *fortuna* and free birth.¹⁶

The sparseness of this evidence can be overcome with difficulty. Unlike Fortuna Muliebris, Fortuna Virgo probably did not have a temple dedicated by a magistrate on behalf of the Republic, but a smaller shrine or a sacred enclosure with a statue. Fortuna Virgo was connected with young girls whose togas were offered to her; but two points must be made. First, when Arnobius asks his readers if they still take the little togas of girls to Fortuna Virginalis, he clearly implies that it was not the girls themselves who offered the gift.

¹² Varr., *De vita pop. Rom.* fr. 17 Riposati (= 17 Pittà): *et a quibusdam dicitur esse uirginis Fortunae ab eo, quod duabus undulatis togis est opertum, proinde ut non reges nostri et undulatas et praetextatas togas soliti sint habere.*

¹³ See ch.3.

¹⁴ Coarelli 1988, 265; Aronen 1995d.

¹⁵ *Ad. nat.* 2, 67, 3: *cum in matrimonia convenitis, toga sternitis lectulos et maritorum genios advocatis? nubentium crinem caelibari hasta mulcetis? puellarum togulas Fortunam deferitis ad Virginalem? matres familias vestrae in atriis operantur domorum industrias testificantes suas? potionibus abstinent vini? adfinibus et propinquis osculari eas ius est, ut sobrias comprobent atque abstemias se esse?*

¹⁶ Cic., *Verr.* 2, 1, 113: *Eripies igitur pupillae togam praetextam, detrahes ornamenta non solum fortunae sed etiam ingenuitatis?*

He does not say who it was, but it is reasonable to imagine that it was other members of the family, perhaps the parents. In any case, it seems plausible that young girls were not the only ones involved in the worship of the goddess. Secondly, even if the offer of the togas occurred at the time of marriage (which is not certain), it is unclear if it was a ritual practice connected with sexual fertility and rites of passage. When Cicero refers to the toga of Annius' daughter as the ornament of her *fortuna* and free birth, he is clearly not making any sexual reference, but is alluding to her good fortune and civil rights. Although it does not refer to Fortuna Virgo, the passage nevertheless makes clear that the togas of girls were considered as something connected not with coming of age and sexual maturity, but with broader conceptions of girlhood and womanhood, defined in terms of social and political status rather than biological fertility.

As there were Fortunae with epithets related to women and girls, so there were also Fortunae with masculine epithets. The most explicit of these is Fortuna Virilis, 'manly'. Our only sources on this particular Fortuna are Ovid and the *fasti Praenestini*, both from the Augustan period. The goddess was worshipped on 1 April, the same day as Venus Verticordia. As the relationship between the two goddesses is debated, Verticordia also deserves a full discussion.

In his verses on this day, Ovid makes quite a strong connection between the two goddesses. He describes how women gather to remove golden necklaces and decorations from a marble statue of Venus, which was subsequently washed and adorned with garlands and myrtle.¹⁷ There follows an aetiology: the statue is adorned with myrtle because Venus used it to cover her body from the sight of satyrs who were peeping at her after a bath.¹⁸ Ovid then goes on to describe what seems to be an entirely separate ritual: the offer of incense to Fortuna Virilis, which happens in a place where there is a source of water (the text, *gelida qui locus umet aqua*, implies a change of setting from the previous ritual).¹⁹ The women must bathe in this, and Ovid says that they offer incense to Fortuna Virilis so that she hides from men the defects of their bodies.²⁰ Immediately after that, Ovid says that women drink a potion of poppy, milk, and honey, as Venus did before her wedding (151-6). He explains that her temple

¹⁷ *Fast.* 4, 135-8.

¹⁸ *Fast.* 4, 139-44.

¹⁹ *Fast.* 4, 145-6, with Bömer 1958, 216-18.

²⁰ *Fast.* 4, 147-50.

was built at the bidding of the Sybil, and that the Venus of that day was called Verticordia because she could change people's hearts (157–60).

The *fasti Praenestini* for the Kalends of April say that women worship Fortuna Virilis, and women of lower social status (*humiliores*) do so in the public baths, 'because in them men expose the part of the body by which the graces of women are desired'.²¹ A number of sources refer to the rituals of 1 April as concerned with Venus and not Fortuna Virilis. Plutarch says that on 1 April women sacrificed to Venus and bathed with myrtle garlands on their heads.²² Johannes Lydus writes that on 1 April respectable women honoured Aphrodite, and *humiliores* women washed themselves in men's baths, garlanded with myrtle, to worship her.²³

According to Valerius Maximus, the cult of Venus Verticordia was founded after a consultation of the Sibylline Books, which ordered the dedication of a sacred statue to the goddess. He adds that a Sulpicia, who is probably to be identified with the daughter of Ser. Sulpicius Paterculus (cos. 258) and the wife of Q. Fulvius Flaccus (cos. 237, 224, 212, 209), had a role in the consecration of the statue. It is therefore reasonable to think that the cult was established in the second part of the third century BC, and that this is the Sibyl's bidding referred to by Ovid in the passage cited above.²⁴

In the absence of any relative chronology, the relationship between Venus Verticordia and Fortuna Virilis is very difficult to establish precisely.²⁵ It has been argued that the two goddesses can be fully identified.²⁶ Arguments can be formulated both for and against such identification. On the other hand, Plutarch and Lydus speak exclusively about Venus, and the *fasti Praenestini* speak only about Fortuna Virilis. Most importantly, the goddesses have completely different names, are involved in different rituals, and are worshipped in separate places. I believe that they cannot be identified, and I would

²¹ *InsIt* 13, 2, p. 126: *frequenter mulieres supplicant/Fortunae Virili, humiliores etiam/in balineis, quod in iis ea parte corpor[is]/utique uiri nudantur, qua feminarum/gratia desideratur.*

²² Plut., *Num.* 19, 2.

²³ Lyd., *De mens.* 4, 65. Also Macrob., *Sat.* 1, 12, 15 probably refers to the same ritual.

²⁴ Val. Max. 8, 15, 12 and Briscoe 2008, 236 for the identification of Sulpicia.

²⁵ Coarelli has argued that both cults are archaic. Coarelli 1988, 298–301. In an entry of the *Lexicon Topographicum*, he speaks of Venus Verticordia as a 'later addition': Coarelli 1995c. Boëls-Janssen 1993, 324–5.

²⁶ Stamples 1998, 110.

not overstress the significance of the tendency towards identification in the Ovid passage, which might depend on the choice of giving the verses dedicated to 1 April a more coherent composition. Champeaux has argued that in the late Republican period the two cults might have been in competition with one another, with upper-class women perhaps preferring the more respectable Venus Verticordia.²⁷ Celia Schultz has recently underlined that, at the time described by our evidence, there seems to have been a class distinction: all women would honour Fortuna Virilis, but humble women would do so in the public baths.²⁸

The way in which Fortuna Virilis is conceptualized in the *fasti Praenestini* and in Ovid is quite similar. Women are mainly concerned with her worship, and both sources give interpretations in which relations between the sexes are central. For Ovid, women pray to Fortuna Virilis to hide from men the blemishes of their bodies, while the *fasti Praenestini* make a stronger sexual allusion when they refer to humble women bathing in the waters where men expose their genitals. Although Fortuna Virilis is clearly concerned with sexuality in some way which is hard to define with precision, she is also involved in defining a distinction in social status between different groups of women. Another important point is that even if, as in this case, a cult has an aspect related to sexuality, it is methodologically wrong to assign it to the archaic period for this reason alone, as has frequently been done with Fortuna Virilis. The *fasti Praenestini* are the only epigraphic calendar to record the festival, and it is likely that they do so in order to boost the presence of Fortuna in the month of April, when the festival of Fortuna Primigenia also took place.

The last Fortuna with an epithet connected to gender and age groups is Fortuna Barbata, the 'bearded' Fortuna. The information we have about this goddess is even scarcer and later than on Fortuna Virilis. She is mentioned only by Tertullian and Augustine, whose aim was to ridicule traditional Roman religion and who are certainly heavily biased against ancient gods. Tertullian describes her as the goddess assisting adult men, in the same way that Iuventas assists

²⁷ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 394.

²⁸ Schultz 2006, 148. It was believed for a long time that matrons worshipped Venus and humble women Fortuna. This interpretation followed a correction of the text of the epigraphic calendar proposed by Mommsen (CIL 1², p. 314) on no reasonable grounds. For a discussion, see Boëls-Janssen 1993, 321–4.

those who had just taken up their virile togas.²⁹ This comes in a chapter making the point that men transform the names of things into gods, dividing every single state of human existence into different divine powers.³⁰ Augustine mentions Fortuna Barbata in two passages in *De civitate Dei*. In the first, he mentions Fortuna Barbata, 'who makes adults grow a beard' (*quae adultos barba induat*), and makes the ironic comment that a deity who wears a beard ought rather to be a god called Fortunius, 'because it has beards' (*sed quia barbas habet Fortunium nominarent*).³¹ In the other passage, Augustine derides the limited extent of the powers of Fortuna Barbata.³² Like Tertullian, he compares Fortuna Barbata to Iuventas. His argument runs as follows: if the deities had any real power one would expect those who do not worship Iuventas to die young, and those who do not worship Fortuna Barbata to be beardless or with an incomplete beard. Moreover, Augustine adds that the power of Fortuna Barbata was so limited that she could give the beard but not the age at which the beard grows (another reference to Iuventas). The context of both passages is similar to that in Tertullian, as Augustine makes the argument that traditional gods have narrowly limited powers and are not worth worshipping. For Augustine, Fortuna Barbata comes into play at the age supervised by Iuventas (youth), when beards start growing. However, in Tertullian, Fortuna Barbata seems rather to be in opposition to Iuventas: the two goddesses supervise men (*vir*) and young adults ('those who have just taken up the toga': *novi togati*), respectively. It is clear that the interest of both authors in Fortuna Barbata was superficial to say the least, and that their main purpose was to ridicule a goddess with a bizarre name. It is also legitimate to doubt whether they had any real information on her beyond the name.

Unfortunately, from these sparse and late references, it is very difficult to say anything about Fortuna Barbata. Some scholars have argued that there must have been an androgynous statue of Fortuna Barbata representing the goddess with a female body and a full beard.³³

²⁹ *Nat.* 2, 11, 11: *Est et Iuuenta nouorum togatorum, uirorum iam Fortuna barbata.*

³⁰ *Nat.* 2, 11, 2: *umbras aliquas incorporales, inanimales et nomina de rebus efflagitantes deos sanciunt, diuidentes omnem statum hominis singulis potestatibus ab ipso quidem uteri conceptu.*

³¹ 4, 11. ³² 6, 1.

³³ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 398 and Coarelli 1988, 280–1 have argued that the goddess must be an archaic androgynous divinity connected or identified with a Venus Calva (cf. Serv., *ad Aen.* 1, 720; schol. B., *ad Il.* 2, 820).

As a matter of fact, however, no source explicitly says that the statue of Fortuna Barbata was bearded. When Augustine says that she 'has beards' in the plural (*barbas habet*), he is probably referring to the goddess's function rather than to an iconographic characteristic. The strongest reason to believe that she had a bearded statue is the epithet *barbata* itself, but we have already seen that epithets can frequently be misleading without further corroboration (think of Fortuna Virilis). From the little available information, it is impossible to say who was involved in the worship of Fortuna Barbata, and the hostile and satirical representation in the extant sources makes any attempt to understand the Republican conceptualization of the goddess impossible. There is also no trace here of rites of passage.

It is clear enough that once the evidence is taken into account the attractive systematic arrangement of Virgo/Muliebris/Barbata/Virilis into a coherent system in which different age and gender groups each had their respective Fortuna is shattered. However, it is also clear that gender must have been essential to the meanings associated with the concepts of these Fortuna. There are three conclusions to be drawn. First of all, although we know frustratingly little about these Fortuna, it seems probable that most were not restricted to their respective age or gender group, as one can see most clearly in the examples of Fortuna Muliebris and probably Fortuna Virgo. Fortuna Virilis is even more problematic because she seems to have been associated with women, in contrast to what one would expect from her name. Secondly, sexuality and fertility do not seem to be a concern present in the evidence on these Fortuna. Virilis is the only Fortuna with a gender-related epithet for which one can see a clear sexual characterization, especially in the description of the ritual baths in the *fasti Praenestini*. Muliebris and Virgo, on the other hand, seem to point to concepts of gender defined in terms which are more social and political than biological and sexual. Thirdly, in the current documentation, there is no trace of rites of passage between one age group and another.

5.2 LATE REPUBLICAN DYNASTS

This section will be dedicated to charismatic individuals in the late Republican period, and their connections with Fortuna. I have chosen

to follow here an approach which is source-based rather than personality-based, as there are drastic differences in the ways in which different sources draw connections between individuals and Fortuna. I shall first deal with Fortuna and Sulla, looking at the fragments of his autobiography to see how he attached a personal meaning to the goddess. Secondly, I shall examine the passages in which Cicero drew direct connections between Fortuna, Pompey, and Caesar in his speeches before the Civil War. Thirdly, I shall consider Caesar's own writings and the ways in which he referred to Fortuna. Finally, I shall return to Cicero's speeches in the period after the Civil War, and analyse what later sources have to say about the relationship between Caesar and Fortuna.

We have already encountered L. Cornelius Sulla a few times in the course of this book, first in connection with the restoration of the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste and secondly with the story of Catulus' vow to Fortuna Huiusce Diei, which Plutarch probably found in Sulla's memoirs.³⁴ These two episodes show that Sulla was interested in Fortuna. After his triumph, Sulla adopted the cognomen Felix, meaning that he was endowed with *felicitas*, success and good fortune. Felicitas was also a conceptual goddess in Republican Rome, and there was at least one temple, dedicated to her by L. Licinius Lucullus around 150 BC.³⁵

Jacqueline Champeaux has argued that there has been an essential misunderstanding in the relationship between Sulla and Fortuna, arising from Plutarch's representation of Sulla in his *Life*, one of our main ancient sources.³⁶ Plutarch translates *felix*, and the relevant abstract noun *felicitas*, as *eutyches*, 'fortunate', and *eutychia*, 'good fortune', respectively. This choice of words, and his vivid interest in the subject of fortune and fate, led Plutarch to construct the biography of Sulla as that of an individual favoured by Fortuna/Tyche. Champeaux claims that Sulla had only a superficial interest in Fortuna. The issue raised by Champeaux is clearly an essential one. There could be differences—indeed big differences—between the way Sulla represented his relationship with Fortuna or *felicitas*, and the way

³⁴ See ch.1 and ch.4, cf. Plin., *NH* 36, 189; Plut., *Mar.* 26, 3.

³⁵ Palombi 1995, 244–5, cf. Strab. 8, 6, 23; Cic., *Verr.* 2, 4, 4. Felicitas is also known from inscriptions from Tibur (CIL 1² 1481) and, perhaps, Praeneste (CIL 1² 1477, where the name of the deity is uncertain).

³⁶ Champeaux 1982–7, 216–36.

Plutarch did. There is also the problem of translation: does Plutarch's vocabulary reflect Sulla's choice of words in a consistent way?

Plutarch makes several references to Sulla and fortune, but normally without referring explicitly to Sulla's autobiography.³⁷ Nevertheless, our principal source for Sulla's own representation of his relationship with fortune is a passage of Plutarch's *Life* (6, 7-13) which deals with Sulla and *tyche*, and refers repeatedly to Sulla's autobiography as a source. This passage, treated by Peter and Chassignet as a single fragment, has been prudently divided into five separate fragments by Christopher Smith.³⁸ Plutarch starts by comparing Sulla's attitude with that of the Athenian general Timotheus. Timotheus was greatly irritated when someone attributed his success to Tyche, whereas Sulla was quite happy to be associated with Fortune. As it is important to discuss Plutarch's vocabulary, I reproduce Smith's text and translation, with the exclusion of the final fragment which relates more specifically to Sulla's attitude to prodigies:

Plut., *Sull.* 6: (7) Σύλλας δὲ οὐ μόνον ἡδέως προσιέμενος τὸν τοιοῦτον εὐδαιμονισμόν καὶ ζῆλον, ἀλλὰ καὶ συναύζων καὶ συνεπιθεάζων τὰ πραττόμενα, τῆς Τύχης ἐξῆπτεν, εἴτε κόμπῳ χρώμενος εἴθ' οὕτως ἔχων τῇ δόξῃ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον. (8) καὶ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι γέγραφεν ὅτι τῶν καλῶς αὐτῷ βεβουλευσθαι δοκούντων αἱ μὴ κατὰ γνώμην, ἀλλὰ πρὸς καιρὸν ἀποτολμώμεναι πράξεις ἔπιπτον εἰς ἄμεινον (FRHist 22 F11). (9) ἔτι δὲ καὶ δι' ὧν φησι πρὸς Τύχην εὐπεφυκέναι μᾶλλον ἢ πρὸς πόλεμον, τῇ Τύχῃ τῆς ἀρετῆς πλέον ἔοικε νέμειν καὶ ὅλως ἑαυτὸν τοῦ δαίμονος ποιεῖν (F12) ὅς γε καὶ τῆς πρὸς Μέτελλον ὁμονοίας, ἰσότημον ἄνδρα καὶ κηδεστήν, εὐτυχίαν τινὰ θεῖαν αἰτιᾶται· πολλὰ γὰρ αὐτῷ πράγματα παρέξιν ἐπίδοξον ὄντα πρῶτατον ἐν τῇ κοινωνίᾳ γενέσθαι τῆς ἀρχῆς (F13). (10) ἔτι δὲ Λευκόλλῳ μὲν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασιν, ὧν ἐκεῖνῳ τὴν γραφὴν ἀνατέθεικε, παραινεῖ μηδὲν οὕτως ἡγείσθαι βέβαιον ὥς ὅ τι ἂν αὐτῷ προστάξῃ νύκτωρ τὸ δαιμόνιον. (F14a).³⁹

(7) Sulla not only gladly accepted such a pronouncement of his good fortune and enthusiasm towards him, but also assisted in increasing it, ascribing what he had done to divine intervention, and fastened it onto Fortune, either because of his boastfulness or because he genuinely had such a belief in divine action. (8) For in his memoirs he has written that

³⁷ 3, 2; 5, 8; 19, 9; 27, 5-6; 29, 9-10; 30, 7; 34, 3-5; 35, 8; 38, 4-5. The terms used are *tyche*, *eutychia*, *kairos*.

³⁸ F8 (Peter) = F8 (Chassignet) = FRHist 22 F 11-15.

³⁹ Here I follow the editorial convention of *FRHist*: the text printed in bold represents the direct paraphrase of Sulla's memoirs.

of those actions of his that men thought had been well planned, it was those that he had not thought through, but which he had boldly risked on the spur of the moment, that had fallen out for the best. (F11) (9) Moreover, in what he says about being naturally fitted for Fortune rather than war, he seems to ascribe more to Fortune than to his own excellence and to make himself over wholly to that deity (F12), since even his concord with Metellus, a man of equal rank and related to him by marriage, he attributes to divine good fortune: for he expected Metellus to make many problems for him, but he turned out to be most accommodating when they shared office (F13). (10) And furthermore, in the memoirs which he dedicates to Lucullus, he advises him to consider nothing so secure as what the deity prescribes to him at night (F14a).

Let us see what Plutarch's vocabulary looks like, and if we can guess the corresponding Latin vocabulary used by Sulla. Plutarch starts by emphasizing that Sulla, unlike Timotheus, gladly accepted such εὐδαιμονισμός (i.e. his connection with fortune), ascribing his deeds to divine intervention (συνεπιθειάζων), and connecting them to Tyche (τῆς Τύχης). These are Plutarch's own words, but immediately afterwards Plutarch proceeds to a paraphrase of Sulla: he claimed that his most successful actions were not carefully planned but were rather done on the spur of the moment (F11: πρὸς καιρὸν). For καιρός it has been argued that *occasio* or *opportunitas* might be good translations, but a possible candidate for πρὸς καιρὸν is also the common Latin expression *forte*, 'by chance', whose meaning implies less divine fatefulness than the Greek counterpart, although it has a divine connection through the goddess Fors Fortuna.⁴⁰ A further candidate, which I believe is the strongest one, is *parvo momento*, an expression attested in Caesar to signify moments resulting in great changes, whom he associates with *fortuna* (BC 3, 68, 1). Another sentiment that Plutarch ascribes directly to Sulla is that he considered himself naturally fitted for Fortune (F12: πρὸς Τύχην) rather than for war. Here, I believe, *fortuna* is clearly the most likely Latin word used by Sulla, although it is hard to say whether it is here meant to be a goddess or not—had Sulla used the word *felicitas*, Plutarch would have translated *eutychia*. In the same sentence, but outside the quotation, Plutarch also refers to Tyche as δαίμων. Another thought attributed to Sulla is that his concord with Metellus came from 'divine good

⁴⁰ For *occasio* and *opportunitas*, see Giardina 2008, 71 n. 30.

fortune' (F13: εὐτυχίαν τινὰ θεῖαν). The equivalent Latin expression here is an easy guess, as Plutarch himself says that one should translate Sulla's cognomen *Felix* as εὐτυχής, and consequently the Latin expression equivalent to (θεία) εὐτυχία must be (*divina*) *felicitas*.⁴¹ When dedicating his memoirs to Lucullus, he advised him to follow what the divinity (F14a: τὸ δαμόνιον) prescribed at night. Here a conjecture as to the identity of the deity is tricky: in Cicero's *De divinatione*, dreams are often said to be sent from a generic *deus*, so this is the most likely option.⁴² Δαμόνιον certainly means divine power in general rather than a particular god or goddess: Simon Swain has shown that the term is rarely used by Plutarch with the latter meaning, and in these cases it appears always in plural form (τὰ δαμόνια).⁴³

This variety of expressions, and the way Plutarch has chosen to render them into Greek with a strong nuance of divine fatefulness, entails the possibility that the Greek biographer has introduced a sense of coherence into these quotations from Sulla's autobiography that might not have been present in the Latin original. In his commentary, Smith has shown that the fragments were probably taken from different parts of the memoirs, with the aim of constructing an overview of Sulla's attitude to the divine.⁴⁴ This implies that, far from being unified by a single coherent theme of Sullan *felicitas*, these fragments show the general attitude of Sulla to fate and gods, including *fortuna*, whether or not it should be taken as a deity.

In conclusion, in addition to a mention of Catulus' dedication to Fortuna and the reconstruction of the pavement of the temple of Fortuna at Praeneste, Sulla also clearly stated in his autobiography that he considered *fortuna* a personal attribute, as he felt that he was more fitted to *fortuna* than to war. Sulla was usually very bold with the creation of connections between the gods and his own person, as demonstrated by Keaveney and Giardina with regard to Apollo and an armed Venus/Aphrodite respectively.⁴⁵ If he was interested in Fortuna as a goddess and he saw *fortuna* as a personal attribute, one wonders why he decided not to claim a more decisive relationship

⁴¹ Plut., *Sull.* 36, cf. App., *Bell. Civ.* 1.97.

⁴² E.g. Cic., *div.* 2, 124–5.

⁴³ Swain 1989b, 299.

⁴⁴ As a consequence, I believe one should question the assumption that the first book of Sullan autobiography was dedicated to *felicitas*, as argued by Lewis 1991, 514–15. This hypothesis was also criticized by Smith in his commentary on *FRHist* 22 F 11–15.

⁴⁵ Keaveney 1983; Giardina 2008.

with the goddess, as he did with Apollo and Venus. Sulla's religious life, as one would normally expect for a polytheistic individual, was centred around a number of gods; but although he was profoundly fascinated by the concept of *fortuna*, he seems to have been reluctant to engage directly with the goddess and did so only in an oblique way. I believe that the reason for his attitude was the traditional relationship between Fortuna and plebeians, which would have made it inappropriate for him as a patrician to engage more directly with the goddess. The importance of *kairos* to Sulla, as demonstrated by Giardina, was conceived within the remits of an archaizing form of religion, in which Fortuna might have had a significant role alongside other gods and goddesses, but Sulla seemed to have had a certain reluctance about Fortuna—not unlike Caesar, as I shall discuss in the next pages.⁴⁶

In the following decades Cicero described *fortuna* as an attribute of men fit to hold special commands, in speeches relating to Pompey and Caesar. On two occasions he calls Fortuna a goddess (*dea*). The first of these speeches is the *Pro lege Manilia*, delivered to the people in 66 BC to support a law extending Pompey's *imperium* to Asia so that he could fight against Mithridates. In this speech Cicero makes *fortuna* very important to Pompey. Cicero introduces the theme in connection with Lucullus, whose early success depended not so much on his *felicitas* as on his virtue, and whose inability to bring the conflict decisively to an end was due to *fortuna* rather than any fault on his part.⁴⁷ *Fortuna* appears again when Cicero elucidates Pompey's impressive military credentials: *fortuna rei publicae* has kept Pompey busy with all possible kinds of warfare.⁴⁸ In this sentence, *fortuna* is the subject of *exercuerit*, and is clearly being personified by Cicero, who often personifies concepts that are not the object of worship.⁴⁹ Later in the speech, Cicero gives an active role to the *fortuna publica populi Romani*: it was she who providentially (*divinitus*) brought Pompey to Asia, which would have been

⁴⁶ Giardina 2008.

⁴⁷ Cic., *Pro leg. Man.* 10: *in altera parte ita res ab L. Lucullo, summo viro, est administrata ut initia illa rerum gestarum magna atque praeclara non felicitati eius sed virtuti, haec autem extrema quae nuper acciderunt non culpa sed fortunae tribuenda esse videantur.*

⁴⁸ Cic., *Pro leg. Man.* 28: *Quod denique genus esse belli potest in quo illum non exercuerit fortuna rei publicae?*

⁴⁹ Clark 2007, 215 n. 29 for a list.

otherwise lost to the Romans.⁵⁰ The adverb *divinitus* strongly suggests that *Fortuna publica populi Romani* has to be capitalized, and Cicero is here creating a direct connection between the goddess of the Quirinal and Pompey. Later in the work, Cicero treats *fortuna* and *felicitas* as synonymous—but only in certain contexts. He says that no man can claim *felicitas* as his own, but that we are allowed to remember and take notice of another's *felicitas*.⁵¹ He goes on to explain that Q. Fabius Maximus, Marcellus, Scipio, and Marius were awarded military commands and offices not only because of their virtues, but also because of their *fortuna* (47, 4: *non solum propter virtutem sed etiam propter fortunam*). A providential *fortuna* was connected with these great men and they achieved their honours and success thanks to her.⁵² Speaking about the *felicitas* of Pompey, Cicero adds that one should refrain from asserting that *fortuna* belongs to an individual for fear of offending the gods who had allowed him to accomplish such great achievements and *felicitas* (47, 12). He concludes that Pompey should definitely be awarded *imperium* over Asia because of his remarkable knowledge of war, exceptional virtue, distinguished authority, and uncommon fortune (49: *eximia belli scientia, singularis virtus, clarissima auctoritas, egregia fortuna*), and that the people should not hesitate to confer on him this power, as such a general is sent by the gods (*ab dis immortalibus*) for the welfare of the commonwealth.

In which circumstances do the meanings of *felicitas* and *fortuna* overlap? The list of virtues of an ideal general, all possessed by Pompey (*belli scientia, virtus, auctoritas, fortuna*) had already been presented to the audience early in the speech, but with *felicitas* in place of *fortuna* (28, 4). There seem, however, to be slight differences in usage. *Felicitas* is said to be bestowed by the gods (47, 12), but is always passive: in the speech she is never the subject. *Fortuna*, by contrast, is occasionally an active force: she provides Pompey with military experience, she providentially leads the great men of the Republic to great achievements, and, most of all, as the *Fortuna*

⁵⁰ Cic., *Pro leg. Man.* 45: *amisissetis Asiam, Quirites, nisi ad ipsum discrimen eius temporis divinitus Cn. Pompeium ad eas regiones Fortuna populi Romani attulisset.*

⁵¹ Cic., *Pro leg. Man.* 47, 1: *Reliquum est ut de felicitate quam praestare de se ipso nemo potest, meminisse et commemorare de altero possumus, sicut aequum est homines de potestate deorum, timide et pauca dicamus.*

⁵² Cic., *Pro leg. Man.* 47, 7: *Fuit enim profecto quibusdam summis viris quaedam ad amplitudinem et ad gloriam et ad res magnas bene gerendas divinitus adiuncta fortuna.*

publica populi Romani, she has brought Pompey to Asia so that he could fight against Mithridates. When *fortuna* is not active she can be a synonym of *felicitas*, with the difference that the latter is always positive. In a recent work, Kathryn Welch has tried to underline the differences between the two words.⁵³ In her words, '*fortuna* IS the divine blessing bestowed by the gods to assist the brave but *felicitas* is a claim to be on a level with the gods and therefore in control of *fortuna* and not in need of their help,' or, schematizing, *fortuna* is a divine agent and *felicitas* a personal attribute.⁵⁴ These and other terms construct an image of Pompey as a divine saviour, sent by the gods.⁵⁵ Welch's attempt to draw a distinction is, however, only partially convincing, insofar as *fortuna* is also presented as an attribute of Pompey, and here it is clearly identical to *felicitas*, whereas the *Fortuna publica* (45) who sent Pompey to Asia might be identified as one of the *di immortales* who provided such a perfect general to the Romans. As Welch observes, although many individuals in the speech are connected with *fortuna*, only Pompey is credited with *felicitas*.⁵⁶ Cicero does not say that the *egregia fortuna/felicitas* possessed by Pompey is identical to the goddess *Fortuna publica populi Romani*, but the juxtaposition must have been strongly suggestive to Cicero's audience. It is important to underline that we do not have direct evidence of Pompey promoting a connection between Fortuna and himself, so this could be Cicero's initiative, although one can rest assured that Cicero would not have displeased him, and there is some indirect evidence that will be discussed imminently suggesting that Pompey made claims on Fortuna that reflected—or were reflected by—Cicero's rhetorics.⁵⁷ It must be added that, as we know from two epigraphic calendars, in the theatre of Pompey, erected in 55 BC, there were probably shrines to Honos, Virtus, and Felicitas, alongside the

⁵³ Welch 2008. ⁵⁴ Welch 2008, 192–4.

⁵⁵ See Cole 2013, 34–48. ⁵⁶ Welch 2008, 191.

⁵⁷ Champeaux 1982–7, II, 256–9 has argued that the denarius of M. Plaetorius Cestianus, a follower of Pompey, might have been issued to promote a connection between Pompey and Fortuna at Praeneste, but, as I have argued above (ch.1), the denarius is likely to be a statement of the Praenestine origins of Plaetorius. Although there is good evidence that Pompey was awarded divine honours in the Greek East, the evidence that Pompey took over the Hellenistic conception of royal Tyche and used it in a specifically monarchic sense is non-existent. In a recent reappraisal of Pompey's religion, Fortuna is kept out of the picture. Santangelo 2007, 228–33.

main sanctuary of Venus Victrix.⁵⁸ This makes it plausible that in the speech Cicero was using concepts close to Pompey's cultic interests.

Ten years later, in 56 BC, Cicero delivered two further speeches in which *fortuna* has an important role. Both speeches followed the renewed deal between Pompey, Crassus, and Caesar at Lucca, and the individuals concerned were Caesar and Pompey. The first oration, *On the consular provinces*, delivered to the senate, supported the renewal of Caesar's command in Gaul. Here Cicero introduces *fortuna* in relation to Caesar with a vocabulary similar to that used in the *Pro lege Manilia*: Cicero's argument is that, if someone in the senate did not like Caesar, he would not really want him to come back to Rome, where he would appear as a victor covered with glory. If Caesar is not in a hurry to enjoy such an illustrious destiny (29: *eximia fortuna*) because he wants to finish the job he started for the welfare of the commonwealth, he should be allowed to do so, as it is in the common interest. Cicero contrasts Caesar's good fortune with Piso's bad luck, following the pattern he had used in the *Pro lege Manilia*, where Pompey's good fortune was contrasted with Lucullus' lack thereof.⁵⁹ Later in the speech, the same argument reappears, but it is made clear that Caesar is related to the goddess Fortuna: 'as if he who is endowed with the magnificent gifts of Fortuna would not often want to challenge this goddess' (35: *qui si Fortunae muneribus amplissimis ornatus saepius eius deae periculum facere nollet*). Even if he preferred to return to Rome, the senate should still want him to stay in Gaul to finish what he had started. The expression *periculum fortunae facere* is proverbial, and here it has a positive meaning.⁶⁰ There seems to be a distinction between *fortuna* as Caesar's destiny of glory, waiting for him when he comes back to Rome, and Fortuna the goddess, who bestows her gifts upon Caesar, and whom Caesar challenges every day for the welfare of the state.⁶¹ But there does not seem to be any trace here of *fortuna* as a personal attribute of Caesar.

Another instance in which Fortuna is associated with an individual occurs in the speech delivered in 56 BC in defence of L. Cornelius Balbus, who was accused of having been illegally enfranchised. Balbus was defended personally by Pompey, and Cicero does not hesitate

⁵⁸ Insc. It. 13, 1, p. 493.

⁵⁹ The reference to Piso's bad luck is *De prov. cons.* 8, 11.

⁶⁰ Grillo 2015, 242, cf. *Phil.* 5, 14.

⁶¹ For general surveys on Caesar and religion, see Le Bohec 2003; Wardle 2009.

to make an argument for acquittal based on the prestige of his co-defender. Pompey, Cicero argues, is the perfect combination of *virtus* and *fortuna*. According to Cicero, chance and the course of events did not rule his actions, but were companions of his good counsel, and in him there was such a great Fortuna concurring with such a great virtue, that in everyone's opinion more was to be attributed to the man than to the goddess.⁶² This speech seems to go a step further than the *Pro lege Manilia* in connecting Fortuna and Pompey. In the same sentence Fortuna is said to be *in* Pompey as a personal attribute (*in quo uno*), and she is called *dea*. Whereas Fortuna as a goddess and the personal *fortunafelicitas* of Pompey were juxtaposed but distinct in 66 BC, in 56 they seem to have become almost indistinguishable. This daring formulation is made more striking by the absence of any such allusion with regard to Caesar and Fortuna. During the Civil War and its aftermath, Cicero continued to speak about Caesar and *fortuna*, but this will be discussed imminently. First, let us see how Caesar himself presented *fortuna* in his own works.

In Caesar's writings the concept of *fortuna* is hugely important. In the *Commentarii* he employs the word *fortuna* seventy-two times, with a variety of different meanings, such as destiny, chance, hazard, and—especially when he speaks of *fortunae* in the plural—wealth. Hazard is perhaps the most common meaning of the word *fortuna*, both in the *Gallic War* and in the *Civil War*, and the expression 'to challenge fortune', using the verbs *temptare* and *experiri*, occurs frequently.⁶³

In several passages of the *Commentarii*, *fortuna* is represented as a capricious superhuman power. In these cases Otto Seel, the editor of the Teubner text, chose to print the word with a capital letter, but I have chosen not to follow suit in order to avoid prejudging the issue. Anna Clark has recently condemned the 'fruitless attempts to determine the precise significance of the various occurrences of FORTUNA in Caesar's writings, by trying to distinguish references to deity from those to quality'.⁶⁴ It is true that, in Caesar's uses of *fortuna*, one can occasionally detect possible references to the goddess, but he never expressly indicates that *fortuna* is a goddess. At the same time,

⁶² Cic., *Balb.* 9: *quin etiam ipsi casus eventusque rerum non duces, sed comites eius consiliorum fuerunt: in quo uno ita summa fortuna cum summa virtute certavit ut omnium iudicio plus homini quam deae tribueretur.*

⁶³ BG 1, 31, 14; 1.36.3; 2, 16; 3, 6, 4; 5, 55, 2; 7, 4, 2; 7, 64, 2; BC 1, 72, 2; 2, 30, 2; 3, 10; 3, 60, 3.

⁶⁴ Clark 2007, 243.

however, one should raise the question of why this should be so. Why did Caesar deliberately choose never to identify *fortuna* clearly as a goddess?

A particularly telling example of this ambiguity is the story of C. Valerius Procillus, the young son of a Gaul who had received Roman citizenship from C. Valerius Flaccus, and who was chosen by Caesar in 58 BC to negotiate with the German leader Ariovistus because of his trustworthiness and his knowledge of the Gallic language. Ariovistus, however, did not even want to listen to him and had Procillus put in chains (BG 1, 47). After the victorious battle against the Germans, however, Caesar managed to recover Procillus safe and sound: he was found by Caesar and the cavalry while being dragged in chains by a group of fleeing Germans. Caesar asserts that *fortuna* would not have caused his great joy and satisfaction with the victory to be diminished in any way by the death of a friend (BG 1, 53, 6: *neque eius calamitate de tanta voluptate et gratulatione quicquam fortuna deminuerat*). The way *fortuna* worked is further explained by Caesar: the Germans drew lots three times to determine whether Procillus should be spared or burnt alive, and every time the lots were favourable to him.⁶⁵ This connection between *fortuna* and the lots is significant, as it reminds us of the oracular function of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste. *Fortuna* appears as a superhuman power in several other episodes in the Gallic War: when Labienus' cavalry ambushes Indutiomarus, the leader of the Treveri, and successfully manages to dispose of him, Caesar writes that '*fortuna* approved the plan of man' (BG 5, 58, 6: *comprobat hominis consilium fortuna*); the occasion when a Roman patrol stumbled over Ambiorix, and the Gallic leader's narrow escape, provides the occasion for a famous general remark on the powers of fortune: '*fortuna* can do much in all domains, particularly in war' (BG 6, 30, 2: *multum cum in omnibus rebus, tum in re militari potest fortuna*); when the Germans attack the fort commanded by Q. Cicero at the worst possible moment for the Romans, this is said to be a proof of the influence of *fortuna* and *casus* (BG 6, 35, 2; 6, 42, 1); Vercingetorix also claims that *fortuna* was favourable to him because he was able to observe the disposition of the Roman troops, and later, after he was defeated by Caesar, recommends that the Gauls should now obey *fortuna* and

⁶⁵ BG 1, 53, 7: *is se praesente de se ter sortibus consultum dicebat, utrum igni statim necaretur an in aliud tempus reservaretur; sortium beneficio se esse incolumem.*

submit to the Romans (BG 7, 20, 6; 89, 2). There is not much here to suggest that Caesar is speaking of the goddess Fortuna. It is worth noting that *fortuna* does not always favour the Romans: Ambiorix, Vercingetorix, and the Germans attacking Q. Cicero are also favoured by *fortuna*. In other words, as *fortuna* can be both good and bad, Caesar deliberately chose not to identify the concept with a goddess. This choice is part of the way in which Caesar chose to give certain meanings to *fortuna*.

In the Civil War *fortuna* appears less often as a superhuman power. *Fortuna* is invoked by Caesar to explain Pompey's success at Dyrrachium. At the beginning of the description of his own defeat, Caesar explains that '*fortuna*, which can do much in all other things but primarily in war, with little changes causes profound reversals' (BC 3, 68, 1: *fortuna, quae plurimum potest cum in reliquis rebus tum praecipue in bello, parvis momentis magnas rerum commutationes efficit*)⁶⁶— a sentence which, as will be noted shortly, reveals much about Caesar's literary models. After the defeat, Caesar addresses his troops and speaks about *fortuna*. They should not doubt themselves, as they captured Italy and Spain easily thanks to *fortuna* (3, 73, 3: *habendam fortunae gratiam*), they crossed the Adriatic to land with *felicitas* in shores and ports full of enemies⁶⁷; now they must assist *fortuna* with their own effort (3, 73, 4: *fortunam esse industria sublevandam*). Whether the current defeat was *fortuna*'s work or had other causes, they must work hard to make it up with their *virtus*.⁶⁸ This speech recalls the one Caesar made at Vesontio, when some of his men were afraid to fight the troops of Ariovistus: there, he argued that armies refuse to obey their commanders if there has been a failure of *fortuna* or if a charge of avarice has been proved, but everyone could see that he was innocent, and his *felicitas* in the Helvetian campaign was clear to all (BG 1, 40, 12: *felicitatem Helvetiorum bello esse perspectam*).⁶⁹

There are two points to make. First of all, *fortuna* is a superhuman power, but one Caesar never characterizes as a goddess. The direct

⁶⁶ A statement repeated with regard to the same events in BC 3, 70, 2; cf. BG 6.30.2, quoted above.

⁶⁷ On this episode, see BC 3, 26–7, and below.

⁶⁸ BC 3, 73, 5: *sive etiam fortuna partem iam praesentemque victoriam interpellasset, dandam omnibus operam, ut acceptum incommodum virtute sarciretur*

⁶⁹ Clark 2007, 246 suggests a parallel between this speech and Cicero's *Pro lege Manilia*.

models for Caesar's use of *fortuna* have been clarified by Paolo Mantovanelli, namely Thucydides and Polybius, who attribute great significance to *tyche* as a superhuman power. In particular, they both attribute great changes to small causes in the same way Caesar does to explain his defeat at Dyrrachium.⁷⁰ I argue that there is probably another model at play, namely Sulla's autobiography and his interest in fortune and in acting 'on the spur of the moment', *πρὸς καιρὸν*. There is a profound connection between the *fortuna* of the *Commentarii* and the goddess. First of all, in the episode of Procillus' rescue described above, the reference to lots and *fortuna* seems to be an allusion to Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste. Secondly, Cicero's description of Caesar as endowed with the gifts of the goddess Fortuna in 56 BC makes clear that some people would be familiar with this connection. Caesar was probably aware that, by pointing to *fortuna*, his audience would connect him with the goddess. As explained later, in the reflections on Fortuna in this period, the goddess and the arbitrary superhuman power are very strongly interconnected.⁷¹ Caesar is probably exploiting this tension to present himself as a man using his *virtus* to win over *fortuna* (as in the speech after the defeat at Dyrrachium), perhaps with the awareness that he could be seen subsequently as a favourite of the goddess Fortuna.

The second point is that Caesar does not claim *fortuna* as a personal attribute directly. He advertises his successes attributing them to *fortuna* after the defeat at Dyrrachium, at Vesontio, and in a speech attributed to Curio in Africa (BC 2, 32). In all these instances the scenario is one of a military leader exhorting and motivating his troops by highlighting their collective success rather than his personal *fortuna*, which is hinted at more directly only at Vesontio, although in the limited context of the war against the Helvetii. When Caesar comes close to speaking of *fortuna* as a personal attribute he significantly associates it with Pompey. After the flight of Pompey to Alexandria, the men sent to the Royal Palace to negotiate with Ptolemy speak to the king's soldiers, and tell them that they should not despise the *fortuna* of their leader (BC 3, 103, 4: *neve eius fortunam despicerent*). But this is exactly what happens: the advisors of the king despise

⁷⁰ Mantovanelli 2000, 220–2, cf. Thuc. 5, 103; Polyb. 1, 20, 7; 9, 17, 10; 15, 6, 6; Mantovanelli provides further bibliography. On Caesar and Thucydides, see also Krebs 2016.

⁷¹ Ch.7.



Fig. 5.1. Denarius of Q. Sicinius, 49 BC (RRC 440/1).

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Pompey's *fortuna* (*despecta eius fortuna*) and decide to arrange his assassination (BC 3, 104, 1). This passage probably represents a polemic against the characterization of Pompey the favourite of Fortuna, as he appears in the *Pro Balbo*, discussed above, but could also be taken as further evidence that Pompey actually claimed that fortune was a personal attribute. A certain Q. Sicinius struck denarii in 49 BC bearing a bust of Fortuna with the inscription *Fort(una) P(opuli) R(omani)* on the obverse (Fig. 5.1).⁷² This coin has frequently been associated with the passage of the *Pro lege Manilia* (45) in which Cicero claims that Fortuna Populi Romani had sent Pompey to Asia, and it has been argued that Q. Sicinius wanted to advertise a connection between the Pompey and the goddess.⁷³ This is possible, although it is wise to remember that we have no information at all on Q. Sicinius other than that he must have been a supporter of Pompey, as he minted other coins while accompanying him during the military campaign, and it cannot be excluded that Sicinius had his own reasons for the choice of the coin type. So, too, in the case of M. Plaetorius Cestianus, whose coins showing Fortuna Primigenia may have referred to his Praenestine origins rather than to partisan propaganda.⁷⁴ Champeaux refers to a passage of the *Bellum Alexandrinum* as proof of the existence of a cult of Fortuna Caesaris; but the passage (43, 1), which offers as one of the possible motives for Gabinius' decision to campaign in Illyria during the winter the fact that 'he ascribed much to the fortune of the victorious Caesar' (43, 1: *multum fortunae victoris Caesaris*

⁷² RRC 440/1.

⁷³ Weinstock 1971, 115; Champeaux 1982–7, II, 279.

⁷⁴ RRC 444.

tribuens), rather contrasts Caesar's success in Egypt with Gabinius' impending doom in his catastrophic Illyrian campaign.⁷⁵

Recent scholarship has emphasized how, especially in the Civil War, *fortuna* is frequently a motive for the characters. Varro's support of Pompey in Spain is also said to depend on *fortuna*: Varro did not take decisive action until events seemed to turn against Caesar, whereupon 'he too began to move in line with the movements of *fortuna*' (BC 2, 17, 4: *se quoque ad motus fortunae movere coepit*).⁷⁶ In a letter to Cicero, sent on 16 April 49 BC while on his way to Spain, Caesar states in more direct terms than in the *Commentarii* that Cicero should defer to *fortuna* and support him, 'as it is clear that everything is going very favourably to us, and very unfavourably to them'.⁷⁷ Even before the war, in 56 BC, Vatinius, one of the witnesses at the trial of Sestius, similarly accused Cicero of making friends with Caesar because of his *fortuna* and *felicitas*.⁷⁸

Other Ciceronian passages speak of the relationship between Caesar and *fortuna*. In a letter to Atticus on 19 January 49 BC, in the confusion following the crossing of the Rubicon, Cicero alludes to Caesar's monarchical aspirations by quoting Euripides (*Phoen.* 506), and then adds 'let him have his fortune!' (*Att.* 7, 11, 1: *sibi habeat suam fortunam!*), which, in this context, probably means 'let him meet his fate'—i.e. tyrannicide; but it may also recall the Caesar endowed with the gifts of Fortuna portrayed in the *De provinciis consularibus*. After the Civil War, Cicero reverts to the theme of Caesar and fortune in two of his later orations. In the *Pro Marcello*, addressed to the senate in the autumn of 46 BC, Cicero greatly praises Caesar for allowing the return from voluntary exile of M. Claudius Marcellus, a former Pompeian who took refuge in Mytilene after the defeat of Pompey. The motif of *fortuna* is introduced right at the start of the speech, when Cicero underlines that he and Marcellus had fought for the same cause, but had met with different fortunes (2: *cum in eadem causa in qua ego fuisset, non in eadem esse fortuna*). Cicero then starts praising Caesar's many military accomplishments (5–6),

⁷⁵ Champeaux 1982–7, II, 271.

⁷⁶ Batstone-Damon 2006, 96–8.

⁷⁷ Cic., *Att.* 10, 8B: *namque et amicitiae graviores iniuriam feceris et tibi minus commode consulueris, si non fortunae obsecutus videbere—omnia enim secundissima nobis, adversissima illis accidisse videntur*. See Grillo 2012, 155–6. Cf. Cic., *Att.* 8, 3, in which Cicero weighs the advantages and disadvantages of joining Caesar or Pompey in January 49 BC, and concludes that he must join his *fortuna* with Pompey's.

⁷⁸ Cic., *fam.* 1, 9, 7.

but says that there are greater things than these because military success depends on a variety of factors: 'the courage of the soldiers, the advantage of locations, and the help of the allies, fleets, and supplies; and yet the greatest part Fortuna claims for herself as if by right, and any action that turns out favourably she considers almost entirely hers.'⁷⁹ The glory which accrues to Caesar from his pardon of Marcellus, however, is his own, and he does not owe it to anyone else: 'No centurion can claim any of this praise for himself, no prefect, no cohort, no squadron; and not even the very mistress of all human things, Fortuna, can share this glory: she yields to you, having acknowledged that it is all your own.'⁸⁰ Champeaux's assertion that Cicero here is placing Caesar above Fortuna is perhaps exaggerated. As Cicero makes clear in a later section of the speech, his *fortuna* and *gloria* should be lesser sources of joy to Caesar than his good nature and virtuous character (19, 2: *natura et moribus tuis*); whereas Caesar owes his military achievements to both his *virtus* and his *felicitas* (19, 3–5), such is the merit of his magnanimity and good counsel that these things appear to be given by *virtus*, whereas the others are conceded by *fortuna*.⁸¹ Given that the context is reparation of the ills of the Civil War, Cicero's words echo very closely the passage of the *Commentarii* in which Caesar, after his defeat at Dyrrachium, exhorts his army to have *industria* help their *fortuna* (*BC* 3, 73, 5). Cicero is probably using Caesar's own rhetoric to exhort him to uphold by his good counsel the old Republican values, thus placing *virtus* above *fortuna*. Significantly, in this speech *fortunafelicitas* is an attribute of Caesar, in contrast to the *De provinciis consularibus* and Caesar's own works.

A final contemporary document regarding Caesar and *fortuna* is the oration *Pro rege Deiotaro*, delivered in November 45 BC in Caesar's own house. Deiotarus, the king of Galatia, had been accused of attempting to have Caesar assassinated during his visit to his

⁷⁹ Cic., *Marc.* 6: *Et certe in armis militum virtus, locorum opportunitas, auxilia sociorum, classes, commeatus multum iuvant, maximam vero partem quasi suo iure Fortuna sibi vindicat et, quicquid est prospere gestum, id paene omne ducit suum.*

⁸⁰ Cic., *Marc.* 7: *Nihil sibi ex ista laude centurio, nihil praefectus, nihil cohors, nihil turma decerpit; quin etiam illa ipsa rerum humanarum domina, Fortuna, in istius se societatem gloriae non offert: tibi cedit, tuam esse totam et propriam fatetur.* Champeaux 1982–7, II, 269.

⁸¹ Cic., *Marc.* 19, 10: *tanta in magnitudine animi et consili dignitas ut haec a virtute donata, cetera a fortuna commodata esse videantur.*

kingdom. The accusation was made by Deiotarus' grandson Castor, and supported by Philippus, a slave physician who was allegedly privy to the assassination plot. Cicero argues that Philippus was bribed by Castor to accuse the king.⁸² He says that, according to Philippus, Caesar's *fortuna* saved him twice: the first time when he refused to view the presents offered by the king, and the second when, after supper, he preferred to go to his bedroom rather than the bathroom, where the ambush was to take place. On both occasions, said Philippus to Caesar, 'your fortune saved you' (*te tua fortuna servavit*).⁸³ According to Champeaux, we have here the first manifestation of *fortuna* no longer as just an attribute of Caesar, but rather as a sort of tutelary goddess who actively protects Caesar and has a distinct existence.⁸⁴ There are two objections to this interpretation. First of all, the words are attributed to Philippus, who, as a Greek from Asia Minor and a king's slave, must have been very familiar with the concept of the Tyche of a king, and he might have applied it to Caesar, although salvatory meanings were regularly attributed to the goddess Fortuna.⁸⁵ Secondly, Cicero does not accept the argument, and he ridicules the statement, which implies that he probably did not support the idea of a personal Fortuna of Caesar as some kind of tutelary goddess.

Later sources do not show the same degree of reticence that Caesar had shown in his own writings, and occasionally both link him to the goddess Fortuna, and make him claim his own Fortuna as a personal tutelary goddess, just like a Hellenistic monarch. Cassius Dio reports that, towards the end of 49 BC, when Caesar was preparing to cross from Brundisium to Epirus, a prodigy appeared to him while he was sacrificing a bull to Fortuna (41, 39, 2: τῇ Τύχῃ θύωντος): the bull ran away and swam across a lake, which Caesar took as an omen of his successful crossing of the Adriatic. Although it was unusual to sacrifice a male victim to a goddess, we know that the practice had a

⁸² Cic., *reg. Dei*. 17.

⁸³ Cic., *reg. Dei*. 19, 1: 'Tua te' inquit 'eadem quae saepe fortuna servavit: negavisti tum te inspicere velle'; 21, 4: 'Cum' inquit 'vomere post cenam te velle dixisses, in balneum te ducere coeperunt: ibi enim erant insidiae. At te eadem tua fortuna servavit: in cubiculo malle dixisti.'

⁸⁴ Champeaux 1982–7, II, 270.

⁸⁵ The word *saepe* (19, 1) might refer to the multiple times *fortuna* saved Caesar during his Galatian visit according to Philippus' account, rather than to the belief of a personal fortuna of Caesar commonly accepted, as in Champeaux 1982–7, II, 270 n. 279.

parallel in Praeneste, where a calf was offered to the goddess during her main festival, and Weinstock has suggested that the bull may be a reference to the foundation myth of Bovillae, the town connected with the *gens Iulia*.⁸⁶ This episode could be a later fabrication—but, even if one wants to accept that it is historical, it is important to underline that it was not particularly emphasized by Caesar, who does not mention it at all in his own account of the events.

It is possible that there was a topographical connection between Caesar and the goddess Fortuna: Caesar at some point acquired the land on which a temple of Fors Fortuna was located, at the first mile of the Via Portuense, and turned it into gardens (*horti*).⁸⁷ As discussed above, the relative chronology of the several temples of Fors Fortuna and their locations are very uncertain, and the temple in the Gardens of Caesar might have been built by Tiberius in AD 16, after the gardens had been made public by Caesar's will.⁸⁸

Caesar crossed the Adriatic with part of his army on 4 January 48 BC (BC 3, 6); although crossing during the winter was unusual and dangerous, his aim was to take the enemy by surprise. In this connection several later sources report a story which, according to Champeaux, might be evidence of Caesar's belief in Fortuna as his tutelary goddess.⁸⁹ According to this anecdote, Caesar, eager to have the rest of the army with him, attempted to go back to Italy incognito on a small fishing boat, so that he could personally supervise the transport of the soldiers, in spite of unfavourable winds. The crossing proved impossible, however, and when the fisherman wanted to give up trying, Caesar urged him on by revealing his identity. We have nine different versions, transmitted by six different authors, of the words used by Caesar to encourage the fisherman, and two further authors refer to the story without reporting Caesar's words.⁹⁰

⁸⁶ *InsIt* 13, 2, p. 438. Weinstock 1971, 118–19. Weinstock wrongly believed that the sacrifice took place in Rome, but see rightly Champeaux 1982–7, II, 280.

⁸⁷ Tac., *Ann.* 2, 41, 1; Plut., *Brut.* 20; *fort. Rom.* 5; GL VII 15, 7–16 Keil.

⁸⁸ See discussion above, ch.3. Clark (2007, 234–6) rather believes that the Tiberian temple was a restoration of an archaic temple attributed to Servius Tullius, and that Caesar employed the presence of this archaic temple in his gardens to advertise his relationship with Fortuna. Clark (2007, 236–43) also mentions other late Republican *horti* possibly connected with temples of Fortuna, but, as she underlines, the evidence is tenuous.

⁸⁹ Champeaux 1982–7, II, 271–5.

⁹⁰ Flor. 2, 13, 37; Cass. Dio. 41, 46, 3; Plut, *Reg. et imp. apophyt. Caes.* 9, 206 d; App., *Bell. Civ.* 2, 150; Luc., *Bell. Civ.* 5, 476–677 and those in the note below. Florus and

According to Plutarch, Appian, and Zonaras, they were ‘you carry Caesar and the Fortune of Caesar’ (Καίσαρα φέρεις καὶ τὴν Καίσαρος τύχην).⁹¹ The crossing, however, ultimately failed, and Caesar had to wait almost a year for the rest of the army to join him.

There are good reasons to believe that the anecdote is spurious: our earliest source, Valerius Maximus, does not report Caesar’s words at all, nor does he connect the story with *fortuna* in any way. It is Lucan who first elaborates the anecdote and introduces Fortuna. In Lucan’s account, Caesar leaves everyone behind and searches for a boat on his own with Fortuna as his sole companion (5, 510: *sola placet fortuna comes*). When the storm breaks out and the sailor wants to go back, Caesar exhorts him to keep on to Italy, and reveals his identity: he is a man never deserted by the gods, ‘whom Fortuna is now badly treating when she came after a vow’ (5, 582–3: *de quo male tunc fortuna meretur/cum post uota uenit*). Fortuna is challenging him, but she does so only because she wants to favour him in the end (592–3). Things, however, go seriously wrong, and when it is clear that he will not make the crossing, Caesar addresses Fortuna again, saying that he is ready to die (5, 664–8). He is finally prodigiously and gently brought back to land by a wave: thus he regained in the same way kingdoms, cities, and his own *fortuna* (676–7: *pariter tot regna, tot urbes/fortunamque suam tacta tellure recepit*). This is consistent with Lucan’s interest in Fortuna, whom he mentions copiously—a total of 145 times in the work.⁹² Lucan diverges in details from most of the other sources, which shows how innovative his account is, and how unlikely it is that he took the motif of *fortuna* from an earlier author.⁹³ Next in line is Plutarch, who was himself greatly interested in Tyche, and mentions the anecdote also in his essay *De fortuna Romanorum*. Appian and Zonaras are dependent on Plutarch, and use virtually the same wording. This would make one think that the sentence on Fortuna in the anecdote was elaborated by Plutarch using Lucan as a model.

Cassius Dio do not have any reference to Fortuna. The sources who do not report Caesar’s words are Val. Max. 9, 8, 2; Suet., *Caes.* 58, 2.

⁹¹ With variants, the sentence occurs in Plut., *Caes.* 38, 5; *fort. Rom.* 6, 1; App., *Bell. Civ.* 2, 57; Zon. 10, 8.

⁹² On this episode in particular, and Fortuna in Lucan in general, see Matthews 2008, 74–83 and Walde 2012.

⁹³ Matthews 2008, 307–14 usefully notes all the variations.

On the other hand Weinstock has argued that the story of the fishing boat is indirectly confirmed by two pieces of contemporary evidence.⁹⁴ First, in the *Civil War*, Caesar states that when the rest of the army finally made it unhindered across the Adriatic almost a year after the initial crossing, they were favoured by *fortuna*.⁹⁵ Secondly, in 44 BC—we do not know if before or after Caesar's assassination—P. Sepullius Macer minted a coin showing, on the reverse, Fortuna standing and holding a rudder and a cornucopia.⁹⁶ This is the first time this iconography—rare but not unprecedented in Hellenistic art—is attested on Roman coinage, and the presence of the rudder gives Fortuna a connection with seafaring.⁹⁷ The coin does not bear an inscription identifying the figure with Fortuna, and, as this particular iconography was new on Roman coinage, the identification was probably not obvious at the time the coins were minted. Directly connecting this coin with Caesarean politics cannot be done without the same caveats mentioned for Pompey and coinage. Moreover, even if the coin had a Caesarean inspiration of some kind, the lack of the inscription for an unfamiliar iconography could have been a deliberate attempt to make it more ambiguous. This would make the coin of Q. Sicinius, with its invocation of Fortuna Populi Romani, all the more remarkable in its clarity of message.

According to Weinstock, these instances would have provided the original inspiration for the establishment of the Augustan altar of Fortuna Redux, 'in essence (. . .) no other than the Fortuna Caesaris in the fishing boat'.⁹⁸ I think this is questionable: first of all, I have just shown that the Fortuna of the fishing boat was probably a literary creation of Lucan, and secondly it is difficult to draw such a direct connection between gods and coin types without further corroborating evidence. I have shown elsewhere that, in the case of Victoria, coin types are not necessarily evidence for a cult, and the same goes here for Fortuna with a rudder.⁹⁹ Finally, even if one assumes that the coin type attests to a cult of Fortuna for which there is no further evidence, and that the anecdote of the fishing boat is reliable, why should one think that the Fortuna on the coin is identical to the 'Fortuna

⁹⁴ Weinstock 1971, 124–5.

⁹⁵ *BC* 3, 26–7; 3, 73.

⁹⁶ *RRC* 480/25.

⁹⁷ Villard 1997, 4 (the lost fourth-century monument from Tegea which I mention in ch.6), 28–9, 32.

⁹⁸ Weinstock 1971, 126. This hypothesis is accepted and developed in De Caprariis 2005.

⁹⁹ Miano 2016.

Caesaris' of the fishing boat—which, let us not forget, ultimately failed Caesar? A more apt example would be the—equally doubtful, but in its outcome successful—story of the Pompeian fleet commanded by L. Cassius, which surrendered to Caesar while he was crossing the Hellespont on a small trireme because, according to Appian, Cassius was terrified by the way *tyche* favoured Caesar.¹⁰⁰

Cassius Dio reports two prodigies in his account of 47 BC: first, the temple of Fortuna Publica was struck by lightning (42, 26, 3: κεραυνοί (...) ἐς τὸν τῆς Τύχης τῆς δημοσίας καλουμένης ναὸν (...) κατέσκηψαν), and the doors of the temple opened of their own accord (42, 26, 4: τὸ Τυχαῖον αὐτόματον ἀνεώχθη); secondly, blood flowed from a bakery to the temple of Fortuna Respiciens (42, 26, 4).¹⁰¹ These prodigies, whose expiation is not recorded, are used by Dio to complement the description of the state of fear and imminent catastrophe into which the city of Rome had fallen under Antony in the aftermath of Pharsalus (see 42, 25–7). One of the temples in question was that of Fortuna Publica, the deity represented on the coinage of Q. Sicinius shortly before the Pompeians left the city, and that Cicero associated with Pompey in 66 BC. Interestingly, at the beginning of book 42, which starts immediately after Pharsalus, Cassius Dio attributes the final fall of Pompey to the fact that after the defeat his confidence was shattered (42, 1). He had forgotten, in particular, 'that frequently fortune narrowly restores the fallen' (42, 1, 1: ὅτι πολλάκις ἡ τύχη δι' ἐλαχίστου τοὺς παύσαντας ἀναλαμβάνει). It seems to me likely that, in this context, the prodigies connected to Fortuna Publica underline the catastrophic state of the Republic, and at the same time they also provide a further clue to reinforce the hypothesis of a connection between Pompey and the goddess.

Roman leaders dealt with Fortuna in the first century BC down to the death of Caesar in innovative ways. No new temple of Fortuna was built in this period. But this fact probably has little bearing on the importance of the goddess in this period, since there is a general lack of information on temple building during these years: from 101 to 44 BC the only temples we can date are the ones linked to

¹⁰⁰ App., *Bell. Civ.* 2, 88; Suet., *Caes.* 63; Cass. Dio 42, 6.

¹⁰¹ In this passage, Dio also mentions the Gardens of Caesar struck by lightning, and, according to Clark (2007, 236), this might mean that Caesar had other gardens on the Quirinal next to the temple of the goddess, but this is not evident from Dio's passage.

Pompey's stone theatre, built in 55 BC, and the temple of Venus Genetrix built by Caesar in 46 BC. On the other hand, the many votive gifts from this period that have been discussed in previous chapters leave little doubt that Fortuna was as significant as ever.

Both Sulla and Caesar had an interest in Fortuna, both as a personal attribute and as a conceptual goddess: the former restored the temple at Praeneste, mentioned the temple of Catulus in his memoirs, and claimed to be better fitted for *fortuna* than for war, while the latter was said to be endowed with the magnificent gifts of Fortuna by Cicero in 56 BC, is known to have offered a sacrifice to Fortuna at Brundisium in late 49 BC, and copiously wrote about the power of *fortuna* on human events. Although the evidence we have about Sulla is much more limited, it seems that he was much bolder in claiming *fortuna* as his personal attribute, something that Caesar seems to have done very indirectly—although, as we know from Cicero's speeches, others did it for him, especially after his victory in the Civil War. The way in which Caesar writes about Fortuna in his works—as associated with big changes caused by 'little moments' (*parva momenta*)—recalls Sulla's fragments on the importance of acting 'on the spur of the moment' (*πρὸς καιρὸν*), but the positive meaning given by Sulla to the expression is reversed by Caesar, who in this passage is explaining the reasons for his defeat at Dyrrachium. This relationship between Fortuna and 'little moments'—with its Greek precedents—seems to be an important part of Sulla's view of fortune, to which Caesar is reacting. Although the fragmentary status of Sulla's text makes it difficult to appreciate the nuances of the way he represented his connection with fortune, Caesar seems to be engaging with Sulla's autobiography attributing other, more negative meanings to Fortuna. We have fewer details about Pompey although indirect evidence strongly suggests that he might have made much bolder claims about a connection with the goddess Fortuna, and Fortuna Publica in particular, than those made by his rival in the Civil War.

The above discussion shows that, in spite of an interest in Fortuna as a goddess and *fortuna* as an attribute, no Roman dynast at this period, not even Caesar, ever claimed Fortuna as a tutelary personal goddess, similar to the Tyche of Hellenistic kings. Although there are undoubtedly occasional overlaps between *fortuna*/attribute and Fortuna/goddess, especially in the description of Pompey in the *Pro Balbo*, there is no evidence of the kind that would decisively settle the

issue in favour of the existence of tutelary personal Fortuna—e.g. a clear act of worship. One can conclude that, although Fortuna has a tendency to multiplication of meanings and epithets, occasionally associated with social or gender groups, this fragmentation did not extend to the individual level. In other words, there is no evidence that individuals had their own tutelary Fortuna in this period.

We have seen that one of the reasons why Sulla and Caesar did not make stronger claims is probably that the goddess had close connections with the plebeian aristocracy, and that they considered it inappropriate as patricians to assert a relationship with Fortuna, as they did with other deities. Unfortunately, the scarcity of direct evidence on Pompey, the only plebeian of the group, does not allow us to determine how far his attitude was different. Indirect evidence such as the coinage of Q. Sicinius, the bold claims made by Cicero, and allusions in Caesar's description of the death of Pompey and in Cassius Dio, nevertheless suggests that Pompey might have claimed a relationship with Fortuna.

A further reason for this reticence of Sulla and Caesar could be the fact that Fortuna was at the centre of debates that involved the frailty of human political achievements which concerned both concept and goddess. The story of C. Valerius Proculus in the Gallic War is illuminating in this connection: Caesar is clearly not speaking about the goddess, but then he makes a telling allusion to *fortuna's* domain over lots, which recalls Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste. Caesar, who shows in his writings that he is aware of the multiple meanings of *fortuna*, and in doing so adopts the manner of Thucydides and Polybius, must have been aware of the debate on the nature of Tyche. This debate, as I have discussed in the previous chapter, was framed by Polybius as a debate on Roman imperialism and the merits of the Romans, and was connected with Fortuna Publica.¹⁰² It is possible, then, that a reason for Caesar's attitude is that he wanted to avert the prophecy of Demetrius of Phalerum on the inevitable fall of those favoured by fortune. The conceptual goddess Felicitas might have been created as a way of responding to this debate. As Felicitas, 'success, good luck', does not hold the potential negative meanings of Fortuna, she would have been more stable in her benevolence and would not have the inconvenience of being associated with the rise

¹⁰² Ch.4.

and fall of empires, as Fortuna was through her Greek translation. The partial semantic overlap might explain why, although several clues point at an association between Pompey and Fortuna Publica, it is to Felicitas that he offered one of the smaller shrines in his temple of Venus Victrix. At the same time, however, *felicitas* is rarely given any kind of agency in primary sources. We have seen that in Cicero's *Pro lege Manilia*, *felicitas* is identical with *egregia fortuna* as one of the virtues of Pompey, and this shows that, as attributes of individuals, *felicitas* and *fortuna* can be synonyms, but in the speech the agency is always given to Fortuna. Other than the more limited agency, a reason why Felicitas did not supersede Fortuna might have been precisely her more limited semantic range, which allowed a much greater number of people to relate with the older goddess.

Moving from individuals to age and gender groups, one can see clear evidence that there were many specialized Fortunae. The evidence is sometimes very scarce and late, which makes a better understanding of such deities challenging. In the better documented cases, however, one can see that these specialized Fortunae could equally be approached by individuals from different backgrounds. Gendered Fortunae are not specifically and exclusively associated with only one gender and age group, but are worshipped by groups of both sexes, presumably with each group attributing a specific meaning to the goddess. Gendered Fortunae had complex social meanings far beyond fertility and sexuality. Even in the case of Fortuna Virilis, for which ancient sources explicitly mention a role in sexual fertility, we can see that there was much going on in the cult about the social status of the worshippers, with some rituals seemingly practised only by *humiliores* women. A further example is Fortuna Muliebris, for which we have more exhaustive evidence. The roles of different groups in the temple of the goddess, for example, show that social status and the relationships between the groups and individuals involved were far more important than sexuality and fertility, and that gendered Fortunae had greater importance in the social construction of these relationships than in the context of sexual fertility.

Fortuna in Translation, Fortuna as Translation

There is no doubt that in antiquity the Latin goddess Fortuna was considered the Latin equivalent of the Greek goddess Tyche. Although this statement is undeniable, the nature of this equivalence is not easy to grasp. What does it mean that a goddess is equivalent to another in the first place? How should one understand this relationship? Jacqueline Champeaux described it in terms of Hellenization. She argued that Fortuna was officially Hellenized and identified with Tyche when she started to be called Fortuna Publica (which she thinks happened during the Hannibalic War), and that this Latin coupling was the equivalent of the Fortune of the City (*Τύχη πόλεως*), one of the ways in which Greek Tyche was conceived in the Hellenistic period.¹ This official Hellenization was preceded by an ‘obscure pre-history’, a period of development which made the identification possible, and which is extremely difficult to analyse critically because of the scarcity of evidence.² Champeaux’s theory that Fortuna Publica is a translation of the Greek *Τύχη πόλεως* does not stand up to closer scrutiny. First of all, the Latin name appears on calendars as Fortuna Publica Populi Romani, thus emphasizing a connection between Fortuna and the Roman people, rather than the city.³ The only author providing a translation of Fortuna Publica in Greek is Cassius Dio, who unsurprisingly translates the epithet as *δημοσία*, which also underlines

¹ Champeaux 1982–7, II, 37–86. Champeaux wrongly identifies Fortuna Publica with Fortuna Primigenia. See Ziolkowski 1992, 40–5 and ch.4.

² Champeaux 1982–7, II, 37–8.

³ I discuss Fortuna Publica in ch.2, ch.4, and ch.7.

a connection between Fortuna and the people.⁴ Finally, the concept of *Τύχη πόλεως* is anachronistic for the Hannibalic War: recent scholarship has demonstrated that the concept probably developed between the second century BC and the first century AD, and the first Roman temple of Fortuna Publica was probably established long before the Hannibalic War.⁵ Champeaux also uses historical categories which were fashionable at the time she was writing (like that of ‘Hellenization’), but have rightly been called into question in recent years.⁶

Defining the relationship between Roman and Greek (and, eventually, Etruscan, Oscan, etc.) deities can be done more effectively in terms of translation. Surprisingly little has been written on this matter, and existing scholarship focuses on the Near East rather than on the classical world.⁷ In the Near East, translating gods from one language to another was a common practice, and from the second half of the second millennium BC scribes redacted lists of names of gods in Sumerian and Akkadian, with a brief explanation connecting the pair of names with a thing or a concept. Although in the classical world such lists were not produced, translating gods was common practice, and Herodotus already shows a clear awareness of the importance of the associations between names and things to define these translations.⁸ As Jan Assmann put it: ‘[t]he great achievement of polytheism is the articulation of a common semantic universe. It is this semantic dimension that makes the names translatable, that is, makes it possible for gods from different cultures—or different regions and traditions within a culture—to be equated with one another.’⁹ In the translation of divine names, identity is, therefore, based on common elements between two or more deities. If deities are associated with concepts, and concepts have many meanings, any such translation can be but partial, based on deities sharing one or more of several meanings. This implies that the translation of divine

⁴ 42, 26 (for a discussion of this passage, see ch.5). This epithet is quite rare in Greek; see IGSK 36, 1, 3 (attached to Dionysus, from Tralles), SEG 4, 187 (to Demeter, from Halicarnassus).

⁵ Meyer 2006, 354, ch.4 for the dating of the temple.

⁶ For an example focused on Italy, see Wallace-Hadrill 2008, 17–28 with further bibliography.

⁷ Assmann 1996; Assmann 2008; Smith 2008, more tangentially Bettini 2012, 197–202. See also the criticism of Bettini 2016.

⁸ This is clear especially in the discussion of Egyptian religion in book 2: see Burkert 1985; Calame 2011.

⁹ Assmann 2008, 54.

names is based on distinct attributes of the gods in question. It is also likely that once a translation was established and commonly accepted, a deity might attract meanings or characteristics of his/her counterpart, especially in multilingual contexts. In other words, this is a complex process which is far from being mechanical or merely linguistic.

It is in such terms that I shall look at the relationship between Fortuna and her Greek translation Tyche. The *Res Gestae* of Augustus is the earliest bilingual document in which the two deities are presented as translations of each other. In 18 BC the senate consecrated an altar of Fortuna Redux to commemorate Augustus' return from Syria: *aram Fortunae Reducis* in the Latin text is βωμὸν Τύχης Σωτηρίου in the Greek translation (*Res Gestae* 11). Fortuna is translated as Tyche, and the translation of the epithets is striking. Epithets are meant to specify one aspect or persona of the deity and occasionally have a transparent meaning.¹⁰ In this case, Redux 'she who leads back' is rendered as Σωτήριος, 'saving'. Whereas in the Latin text there is a direct connection between the action of Augustus (*redire*) and the epithet of Fortuna (*redux*), in the Greek translation this connection is broken, and Tyche is more generically a saviour. The translation was probably suggested by the idea that Fortuna Redux brought Augustus back to Rome, and did so safely, which in the Latin epithet is only implicit. The Greek translation Tyche Soterios appears to be more broadly conceived than the Latin Fortuna Redux would suggest, and the choice of the translator, although based on a common element (the safe return) creates a conceptual difference between the two goddesses in the two versions of the text.¹¹ This is the earliest bilingual text, but one would not be mistaken in thinking that the translation must have been considerably more ancient. When Prusias II of Bithynia offered sacrifices to Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste during his journey to Italy in 167 BC, it is very likely that he saw Fortuna as a translation of Tyche.¹² In the Verrines, Cicero refers to the noteworthy art collection of C. Heius of Messene, a Mamertine and one of the aristocrats of the Sicilian town, which was kept in a small chapel (*sacrarium*) in his house. This collection included an old wooden statue of Bona Fortuna, the only piece which

¹⁰ Parker 2003.

¹¹ Cassius Dio (44, 10, 3) translates Fortuna Redux more literally as Tyche ἐπάνα γωγός. For a commentary on this chapter, see Scheid 2007, 46–7.

¹² Liv. 45, 44 with Briscoe 2012, 762.

Verres spared from his spoliation. Here a three-way translation might be implied between Oscan, Greek, and Latin. But when, where, and how was this translation established, and how did it develop?

This chapter will analyse the evidence for an identification of Fortuna and Tyche (and, partially, of these two goddesses with Isis) up to the end of the Republic. The lack of a recent monographic study of Tyche makes this a difficult task: the first and only monograph on the Greek goddess was published at the end of the nineteenth century, and recent work has focused only on particular aspects of the goddess, specific types of evidence, or limited local manifestations.¹³ I shall not attempt to fill this desideratum, which would require a separate monograph. But if the translation of Fortuna and Tyche occurred because the deities had one or more common elements, it is essential to analyse the evidence on Tyche to ascertain what these common elements are. This chapter will therefore be structured as follows: first of all, I shall outline the evidence on Tyche up to the fourth century BC, which is the time in which we have the first contemporary evidence on Fortuna. This discussion will be selective, with no pretence at being exhaustive, and it will have the aim of presenting points of comparison between the two goddesses, in order to understand the reasons for this translation. I shall discuss the most extensive and relevant literary texts, and I shall focus particularly, but not exclusively, on epigraphic evidence which documents that Tyche was worshipped as a goddess, or had a divine status. In the second part of the paper, I shall discuss the evidence from which one could argue with a certain degree of confidence that Tyche and Fortuna were mutual translations. The section on Tyche will cover material down to c.300 BC because I believe that there are reasons to accept that, at the time, the relationship between the Greek and the Roman goddesses was already steadily established. I shall focus, in particular, on the evidence which suggests that the goddesses were translated in a cultic context.

I have decided to exclude the question of an Etruscan translation of Fortuna, for the simple reason that we do not know enough about it for the matter to be properly discussed. Juvenal implies that the goddess from Volsinii, Nortia, was identified with Fortuna, but he does so in a very specific context, that of the fall of Sejanus, and

¹³ The monograph is Allègre 1889. See also Herzog-Hauser 1948; Nilsson 1950, II, 190–202; Herter 1975, 76–90; Matheson 1994; Sfameni Gasparro 1997; Christof 2001; Meyer 2006. Regional studies: Edwards 1990; Spyridakis 1969; Tracy 1994; Belayche 2003.

Martianus Capella presents the same identification among other options.¹⁴ Furthermore, Martianus wrote in the fifth century AD that the heavens were divided into sixteen regions—a division which is probably of Etruscan origin—and that Fortuna was in the eleventh region alongside Valetudo and Favor (1, 45, 55).¹⁵ However, although the sixteen-region system is Etruscan, the equivalence between the Latin gods named by Martianus and Etruscan gods cannot be established with confidence, and the text is so late that it is very uncertain that there ever was any such equivalence. Servius Auctus writes that the Etruscans consider Fortuna one of the Penates.¹⁶ Cesare Letta has plausibly argued that the tradition of King Servius Tullius as a favourite of Fortuna existed also in Etruscan.¹⁷ It seems to me that the documents above, while of great interest to the Roman interpretations of Etruscan religion in the early Roman Empire and in Late Antiquity, are of little relevance to the period covered by this book. Modern scholarship has been unable to reach any consensus as to an Etruscan equivalent of the goddess Fortuna, and this must imply that most likely there was not an established translation.¹⁸ Our best candidate, Nortia, has a name which is probably Latin rather than Etruscan, and could be etymologically connected with the Moira ἄτροπος, which might in turn be attested in an Etruscan mirror from Perugia as Aθrpa.¹⁹ Daniele Maras has recently proposed that the Etruscan translation of Fortuna be identified with the goddess Oυflθα.²⁰ Having so little to work with, I prefer to turn to the much better attested and significant relationship between Fortuna and Tyche.

6.1 TYCHE

Tyche does not appear in Homer, but she is otherwise well attested in archaic poetry.²¹ She first appears in Hesiod's *Theogony* as a daughter

¹⁴ Juv. 10, 72–5 and *scholia ad loc.* (Wessner). Cf. Liv. 7, 3, 7 and Mart. Cap. 1, 88.

¹⁵ On this passage, Weinstock 1946 and Capdeville 1996.

¹⁶ Serv. Auct., *ad Aen.* 2, 325: *Tusci penates Cererem et Palem et Fortunam dicunt.*

¹⁷ Letta 2013. The evidence is that on the *tabula Lugdunensis* (CIL 13 1668 = ILS 212) Servius is said to be *varia fortuna exactus*.

¹⁸ Gilotta 2011, 287 is inconclusive.

¹⁹ Champeaux 1982–7, I, 464 and Maras 2016, 464. ²⁰ Maras 2016.

²¹ Pausanias was famously puzzled by the absence of Tyche in Homer (4, 30, 3).



Map 6.1. Notable places mentioned in this chapter.

Made by the author using Antiquity À-la-carte. © Ancient World Mapping Centre.

of Oceanus and Tethys (360), with the whole group characterized by the function of protecting the youth.²² Alcman presents Tyche as the sister of Eunomia, 'Respect for the laws', and Peitho, 'Persuasion', daughter of Promatheia, 'Foresight'.²³ According to Claude Calame, rather than outlining a mythical genealogy, Alcman was rather interested in expressing and organizing political concepts.²⁴ Calame has argued that Promatheia, 'Foresight', is a way of exercising some control over destiny. In this sense her affiliation with Tyche may imply that the latter has a particularly positive meaning ('Good Fortune'). Tyche appears alongside Moira in a fragment of Archilochus: they are those who are able to give everything.²⁵ In the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter* (420), datable approximately at the beginning of the sixth century BC, Tyche is present at the scene of the abduction as a companion of Kore, and, as in Hesiod, she is just an uncharacterized name among the daughters of Oceanus.²⁶ In this early evidence Tyche seems to be a mythological figure devoid of distinct characteristics, or a personification who can be addressed on occasions to express a political or moral message.

Pausanias writes of a very ancient statue of Tyche made in Smyrna by Boupalos—evidently Boupalos of Chios, a late-sixth-century sculptor.²⁷ However, this piece of information has been questioned. Pausanias says that the statue held a cornucopia (*Ἀμαλθείας κέρας*), and had a sphere upon her head (*πóλος*), both typical characteristics of the iconography of Tyche in later times. The statue at Smyrna might have been a Hellenistic piece that at some point was attributed to the earlier period, as we have no other certain representation of Tyche on pottery from such an early period.²⁸

In Pindar, Tyche seems to take on a more prominent role. In Olympian 12, in particular, she is the central character. The ode is dedicated to Ergoteles of Himera, winner of the long foot race in the Olympic games of 472 BC, although the ode was composed in 466/465 BC, following two further Pythian victories of the athlete.²⁹

²² The expression used is *ἄνδρας κουρίζουσι* (347); for a discussion of the meaning, see West 1966, 263–4.

²³ *PMGF* 64 = Calame 105 = Plut., *De fort. Rom.* 4. See Calame 1983, XXVII.

²⁴ Calame 1983, 500–1. ²⁵ Fr. 8 Diehl.

²⁶ For the date, see West 2003, 9; full discussion in Foley 1994, 169–75.

²⁷ Paus. 4, 30, 6.

²⁸ Villard 1997, 124; Fullerton 1990, 85–6; Shapiro 1993, 227; Aellen 1994, 100.

²⁹ For the chronology of Ergoteles' victories, see Barrett 1973. See also Verdenius 1987, 89–102.

Tyche, daughter of Zeus the Liberator (ἐλευθέριος), is hailed in the invocation at the beginning of the ode as 'saviour' (σώτειρα), and is exhorted to protect the Sicilian city of Himera. Tyche is said to be responsible for navigation on the sea and warfare on land. She is also described as unpredictable. This is connected to the story of Ergoteles himself, a native of Knossos in Crete, who was driven out during civil strife (στάσις), and, after fleeing to Sicily, became a distinguished citizen of Himera. Barrett showed that the genealogy of Tyche from Zeus Eleutherios is relevant to establishing the historical context of the ode. The god had several places of worship, and sometimes we know about the circumstances in which they were established. In Samos an altar of Zeus Eleutherios was built after the death of the tyrant Polycrates in 522 BC,³⁰ whereas in Plataia a temple was dedicated after the defeat of the Persians in 479 BC.³¹ The place of worship most relevant to the context of the ode, however, is Syracuse, where a cult of Zeus Eleutherios was established after the overthrow of the tyrant Thrasyboulos in 466 BC, the very year in which the ode of Pindar was commissioned.³² In Syracuse there was a suburb of the city called Tyche, on which the most ancient source is Ephoros, who called Tychia an island near Syracuse.³³ Diodorus mentions the suburb Tyche in his account of the revolt against Thrasyboulos.³⁴ We hear again about the area of Syracuse called Tyche in Livy's account of the disturbances which occurred after the death of Hieronymus in 214 BC (24, 21, 7), and of the siege of the city by Marcellus (25, 25, 5-6; Plut., *Marc.* 18, 6).³⁵ Cicero says that the district Tyche was named after a *Fortunae fanum antiquum* located in the area.³⁶ It is possible that this

³⁰ Hdt. 3, 142.

³¹ Str. 9, 2, 31; Plut., Arist. 20-1; Paus. 9, 2, 5.

³² Diod. 11, 72. See Barrett 1973, 32-3.

³³ Miano 2013; the fragment is *FGrHist* 70 F 66: *Τύχη· πόλις Συκελίας πλησίον Συρακουσῶν. Ἐφορος ἐν τῇ ἰβ νῆσον Τυχίαν φησίν.* On which, see the commentary by V. Parker, in I. Worthington (ed.) *Brill's New Jacoby*, Brill Online): 'A glance at the full context in Diodoros shows how Stephanus [i.e. the source of the fragment], minor slips of the pen aside, may have mistakenly conjured up an island with the same name as the neighbourhood in Syracuse.'

³⁴ 11, 68, 1: οἱ δὲ Συρακόσιοι τὸ μὲν πρῶτον μέρος τῆς πόλεως κατελάβοντο τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Τύκην. The manuscript tradition has *τύκην*: Vogel 1890, II, 319.

³⁵ There may be a late Syracusan coin (c.210-170 BC) representing the goddess Tyche (*BMC Sicily*, p. 226 n. 688; Head 1983, 186; Matheson 1994, 112. On the chronology, see Carbè 2011, 147-8.

³⁶ Cic., *Verr.* 2, 4, 119: *Tertia est urbs quae, quod in ea parte Fortunae fanum antiquum fuit, Tycha nominata est; in qua gymnasium amplissimum est et complures aedes sacrae, coliturque ea pars et habitatur frequentissime.*

temple already existed in the fifth century BC, although it may be that our sources called the suburb by the name it had in their time, and that the temple was built later. However that may be, the overthrow of tyranny at Syracuse in 466 BC was an important event for the whole of Sicily, and we know that Himera sent troops and ships to help the revolt against Thrasyboulos.³⁷ Barrett argued very convincingly that the invocation to Zeus Eleutherios and Tyche in the ode must be connected to the overthrow of the tyrant, and noted that ships and troops said to be the domain of the action of Tyche in the ode are a reference to the help sent by Himera to the rebel Syracusans.³⁸ In Himera, Zeus Eleutherios is not attested, but we have a bronze ball from the end of the fifth century with an inscribed dedication to Zeus Soter.³⁹ This evidence may suggest that, to Pindar, Tyche was already an established goddess rather than a personification, although it is difficult to be certain. We know that Pindar referred to Tyche in other works which have been transmitted to us only in fragmentary form. It is hard to say much about these very short fragments, but one should note that Pindar called Tyche *φερέπολις*, 'supporter of the city' (fr. 39), and he described the goddess as the highest of the Moirai (fr. 41). The epithet *φερέπολις* may imply a certain political significance of Tyche, which would fit very well with the probable connection to the overthrow of Thrasyboulos.

In the course of the fifth century BC, we have the earliest occurrences of the epigraphic habit of opening legal inscriptions with the invocation 'God, Fortune' (*θεός τύχη*). This formula is first attested in two inscriptions on bronze tablets from the environs of Croton, one from Petelia and the other from Punta dell'Alice.⁴⁰ Both inscriptions are deeds of gift from individuals, and are datable in the first decades of the century. In the later part of the century, the formula was engraved on a lead tablet, which was probably found in the environs of Palermo.⁴¹ This is also a legal document, a contract between a sanctuary and a certain Archon and his family. When August Böckh wrote his commentary on the inscription from Petelia, published in 1828, he was inclined to consider *θεός* a feminine noun, and to

³⁷ Diod. 11, 68. ³⁸ Barrett 1973, 35 n. 42.

³⁹ IGDS 13. On the god in Sicily, see also Manganaro 2003.

⁴⁰ IGDDG 2, 93 (=IG 14 636), 94.

⁴¹ IGDS 177. The tablet comes from a private collection. See Manganaro 1977.

interpret the whole formula $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma \tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\alpha$ as 'Goddess Fortune'.⁴² This interpretation is difficult to accept, but, as Gasparro has argued, such a close connection between the concepts of god and fortune must be significant.⁴³ Although it does not necessarily indicate that Tyche is a goddess, it implies that she has the power and the honours of a god. This relation might therefore be interpreted in terms of equal power, or complementary domains, or (perhaps less likely) even opposition between $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ and $\tau\acute{\upsilon}\chi\alpha$. Although it cannot be determined which of these meanings is given to the conceptual couple, this recurring formula implies a strong semantic relationship.

This seems to be confirmed by two further epigraphic documents in which Tyche appears at the beginning of the inscriptions, as a sort of title. They are two inscribed lead tablets found in Selinous, recently published by Giovanna Rocca.⁴⁴ The inscribed text consists of the so-called *ephesia grammata*, an obscure formula, which is known in several other inscriptions and referred to by ancient testimonia, and which was used in rituals.⁴⁵ The verso of one of the tablets (7 A) was opened by a word which does not belong to the formula, from which it is separated by a gap, and whose only remaining letters are [- - -]σεφ[. Possibly, according to Rocca, this may be integrated as the name of Persephone in a sort of invocation, which would therefore correspond to the name Tycha on the recto. The inscriptions can be dated around 450–425 BC on palaeographic grounds, although some linguistic peculiarities may imply a slightly later date.⁴⁶ As with the invocation at the beginning of documents, it is difficult to say if one should look at these documents as evidence for a cult of Tyche, but they certainly attest her growing importance in what is clearly a ceremonial context.⁴⁷ It is striking that these early documents in which Tyche appears to rise close to the status of a goddess are mostly from Sicily and Magna Graecia, a region which had significant relationships with central Italy in this period.⁴⁸ Tyche, however, appears to be invoked alongside Athena and the gods also in a contemporary Attic inscription, of 440/439 BC, which concerns the material of Pheidias'

⁴² CIG 1 4.

⁴³ Sfameni Gasparro 1997, 84.

⁴⁴ Rocca 2009, 6 N, 7 A.

⁴⁵ Rocca 2009, 31–3.

⁴⁶ Rocca 2009, 25–6.

⁴⁷ Martín Hernández (2011) assumes that Tyche here is certainly a goddess, but I would rather keep an open mind on the role of the invocation in the text.

⁴⁸ See Ampolo 2012, esp. 35–7, for fifth-century Selinous.

statue of Athena, and this is also an indication of how close she was to divine status.⁴⁹

In the fourth century BC, we have clearer evidence for the worship of Tyche. Gasparro has argued that a particularly important document in this regard is a lost inscription from Tegea containing a proxeny decree of the Arcadian Confederacy in honour of Phylarchus from Athens, passed in the 360s BC.⁵⁰ The decree opens with the invocation *θεός τύχη*, which I have already discussed, and the word Tyche was placed as a sort of label under a representation of a female figure with a rudder. For Gasparro, the presence of a visual representation of Tyche would imply that she had become a fully personal goddess. I believe she was visually personified, but this does not necessarily imply that she was a goddess, because there is still no clear evidence of worship.

However, in the later part of the century we have the first clear evidence for a temple of Tyche. In Athens, Agathe Tyche certainly had a temple at the time of Lysurgus, who claimed credit for building or restoring it.⁵¹ An inscribed law attests that, in the 330s BC, there were superintendents of the sanctuary of Agathe Tyche (*ἐπιστάται τοῦ ἱεροῦ τῆς Ἀγαθῆς Τύχης*), and we also have records of sacrifices offered to the goddess.⁵² We have epigraphic evidence for other acts of worship directed towards Tyche. At roughly the same time, a certain Philippos offered a gift to the Twelve Gods and Agathe Tyche.⁵³ A remarkable piece of evidence is a relief with an inscription, in which a woman, her son, and his wife offer a gift to Zeus Epitelleios Philios, his mother Philia, and his wife Agathe Tyche: there is clearly a correspondence between the human and the divine family, and Agathe Tyche is put in a genealogical-mythical context.⁵⁴ Fourth-century evidence from places other than Athens is also rich, and it includes a joint dedication to Tyche and Nemesis from Epidauros, an altar offered to Agathe Tyche from Troizen, a dedication to Agathe Tyche and Agathos Daimon from Thera, and an inscription from

⁴⁹ IG I³ 459.

⁵⁰ Sfameni Gasparro 1997, 84, IG 5, 2 1. The list of *damiorgoi* included in the document has been recently discussed by Nielsen 2002, 435–6.

⁵¹ Fr. 22 Sauppe. See Smith 2011, 119–22.

⁵² IG 2³ 445; 2² 1496. Praxiteles' statue of Agathe Tyche, which at the time of Pliny the Elder (36, 23) stood on the Capitol, might have been connected to this sanctuary.

⁵³ IG 2³ 4564.

⁵⁴ IG 2² 4627. See Smith 2011, 122.

Mylasa with a dedication to Tyche Epiphanes.⁵⁵ From Pausanias we know that there was a temple of Tyche at Megara, whose cult statue was made by Praxiteles, and one at Thebes, whose statue was by the sculptor Xenophon.⁵⁶

This increasing popularity is also visible in literary sources. Tyche appears frequently as a personification in comedies and oratory, although the extent to which these texts allow a better understanding of the goddess is doubtful.⁵⁷ The most notable piece of evidence is probably Menander's *Aspis*, where Tyche is not merely mentioned, but even appears on stage during the second scene, claiming to be a goddess, and to have the power to judge and direct all events (147–8: πάντων κυρία/τούτων βραβεῦσαι καὶ διοικῆσαι).⁵⁸ Philosophers like Aristotle, Epicurus, and Demetrius of Phalerum put Tyche at the centre of their reflections.⁵⁹ Hymns to Tyche were also composed, although they cannot be dated precisely.⁶⁰ As Furley has underlined, these hymns are quite atypical, and do not seem to be in any way directly connected with a cult of the goddess: Tyche is described in rather ambivalent terms, and the compositions lack proper prayers.⁶¹

In the surge of the popularity of Tyche in the fourth century BC, one should also consider the shrine of Automatia that Timoleon built in his home in Syracuse, in the 30s of the fourth century BC, with the house itself dedicated to Agathos Daimon.⁶² A cult of Automatia is not otherwise attested, but it is clear that she must have been very close to Tyche, if not identical with her.⁶³ The connection between

⁵⁵ IG 4² 1 311; 4 765; 13 3 436; IMylasa 339, 340. With regard to the inscription from Mylasa, I trust Blümel that this is not about a gift to the Tyche of a Persian king (as in CIG 2693 b). A complete list with references is in Hamdorf 1964, 97–9, and Sfameni Gasparro 1997, 98–102.

⁵⁶ Paus. 1, 43, 6; 9, 16, 1–2.

⁵⁷ A good overview can be found in Champeaux 1982–7, II, 38–59.

⁵⁸ *Aspis* 96–148. See Beroutsos 2005, *ad loc.*

⁵⁹ Arist., *phys.* 2, 4–6; Epicur., *Ep.* 3, 25–9 Usener; Demetrius of Phalerum, F 81 Wehrli. On Demetrius in particular, see ch.4.

⁶⁰ Furley 2010. The hymns are Orph., *H.* 72; PMG 1019; P.Berlin 9734 (to be read in Furley's edition). I am grateful to the author for having sent to me an offprint of this article.

⁶¹ Furley 2010, 176–7.

⁶² Plut., *Tim.* 36; Nep., *Timol.* 4, 2.

⁶³ The context of the sentence makes clear that Automatia is here strongly connected with Tyche (cf. Arist., *ph.* 2, 4–6, and Champeaux 1982–7, II, 42–3 with other references). It must be observed that the cult of Automatia is not known elsewhere, except for a parallel passage in which Plutarch mentions Timoleon (*De se ipsum* 542e). A later dedication, offered by one Claudia Telesphoriana after a dream to

Tyche and Agathos Daimon is unsurprising: we have already encountered it in Thera, and the cult of Agathos Daimon is epigraphically attested in Syracuse.⁶⁴ This shrine may have something to do with the area of Syracuse called Tyche, mentioned above in relation to the overthrow of Thrasyboulos. It must be noted that all the extant sources could have known about the shrine of Automatia founded by Timoleon, and it is possible that the district of Syracuse was named Tyche because of it.⁶⁵

The first piece of evidence documenting the worship of Tyche in Italy is an inscribed bronze tablet from Heraclea in Lucania, discovered in 1965–6, which should be dated in the late fourth or early third century BC. It was discovered with other inscribed tablets recording gifts to Demeter.⁶⁶ In our tablet, the name of the person offering the gift is fragmentary and the name of Demeter is lost, but the final part of the inscription can be confidently reconstructed as follows: ‘she offered herself to Demeter, Kore, and Agathe Tyche’ ([Δάματρι κ]αὶ Κόραι [παρκατ]τίθεται αὐτὰ [αὐτάν τυ]χαι τῇ αγαθαί).⁶⁷ The bizarre formulation ‘offering oneself’, which recurs on the tablets, has been interpreted as presenting to the goddess an image of oneself as a gift, although other hypotheses have been formulated.⁶⁸ The final part of the inscription can be interpreted either as an offering to Agathe Tyche, as I translated above, or as a generic formula, ‘with good fortune’. Scholars are divided on which of the two interpretations ought to be adopted, but I am inclined to see it

Automatos, Nyx, and Telete was discovered at the temple of Demeter at Pergamon (Hepding 1910, Stringer 2007).

⁶⁴ IG 14 5a. Pausanias (9, 39, 5) informs us that they also had a common sanctuary in Lebadeia.

⁶⁵ Ciaceri (1911, 236–9) speculated that there might have been altars of Tyche and Nemesis at the agora of Syracuse, honoured by Ducetius when he came to ask mercy from the Syracusans (Diod. 11, 92). This comes from a questionable reading of Diodorus: some citizens of Syracuse ἀπεφαίνοντο σώζειν τὸν ἱκέτην, καὶ τὴν τύχην καὶ τὴν νέμεσιν τῶν θεῶν ἐντρέπεσθαι (11, 92, 3). See also Bonanno 2010, in which the author convincingly argues that, in the episode of Ducetius, *tyche* and *nemesis* are used by Diodorus for the historiographical construction of the narrative. The main source of the passage is Timaeus, according to Meister 1967, 51–2; Pearson 1987, 140–1.

⁶⁶ Sartori 1980 = SEG 30, 1150–1170. ⁶⁷ SEG 30 1164 = Sartori 1980, n. 15.

⁶⁸ This is the original idea of Franco Sartori (1980) which has been questioned by Maddoli 1986. Maddoli argued that the women offering the tablets in Heraclea were freedwomen who offered themselves as gifts to the goddess. Sartori (1992) defended his position. Maddoli’s theory was accepted by Gertl 2012, 136.

as a dedication.⁶⁹ I think it is very tempting to relate it to contemporary evidence on Fortuna, in particular to the inscription allegedly found in the Messapic area (Otranto), a region which had close contacts with Lucania.⁷⁰ In that case, it would also represent a first—possibly indirect—contact between Fortuna and Tyche. Although this is only a hypothesis, a local may have brought with him or her the object from a sanctuary of Fortuna in central Italy, convinced that Fortuna was the translation of Agathe Tyche, associated in turn with Demeter.

Another early piece of evidence on Tyche in Italy consists of a Ptolemaic wine jug (*oinochoe*). This object was acquired by the British Museum from the antiquarian collection of Alessandro Castellani in 1873, and is reportedly from Canosa di Puglia.⁷¹ It represents a female figure holding a double cornucopia, pouring a libation in front of an altar on her left, with a pillar on her right, and, above the scene, the inscription ‘of Agathe Tyche Arsinoe Philadelphos’ (Ἀγαθῆς τύχης Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου) was incised by the potter (before glazing).⁷² A similar inscription was probably also incised on the altar, but only the first two letters are now visible. In three or four similar jugs, all from Alexandria, Arsinoe is also identified with Isis in the inscription on the altar, whose most complete preserved form is ‘of Agathe Tyche Arsinoe Philadelphos Isis’ ([Ἀγ]αθῆς τύχης [Ἀ]ρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου Ἴσιος).⁷³ The genitive case of the inscribed names should probably be explained as a reference to the divine ownership of the object, and the formula probably implies that the Ptolemaic queen Arsinoe Philadelphos, Agathe Tyche, and Isis were to a large extent identified. These objects probably started being produced towards the end of Arsinoe’s life, or shortly after her death, and were manufactured for several decades (c.270–240 BC). As we do not have any information on the exact location of the find or its archaeological context, it is impossible to know when and how it ended up in Italy. As we shall see, we know of an Italian commander active in a Ptolemaic garrison on Crete, around 217–209 BC, and it would be attractive to think that our wine jug was brought back to

⁶⁹ In favour of the interpretation of the formula as a dedication to a goddess are Sfameni Gasparro 1997, 85 and Otto 2008, 78. I find the hypothesis of Otto of a Tyche-Ge unnecessary: Tyche is connected with Demeter and Persephone also in Sokolowski 63 and, probably, in the tablet from Selinous above.

⁷⁰ Ch.2.

⁷¹ Catalogue number 1873,0820.389.

⁷² SEG 41 1602. Thompson 1973, no. 1.

⁷³ Thompson 1973, nos 142, 144, 146 (probably also 147).

Italy by someone who had business of some sort in Egypt.⁷⁴ In terms of broader significance, this could imply that at least some people in Italy were familiar with the close association between a ruler and Agathe Tyche, although this would have been conceived not in terms of the Tyche of the ruler but of identification of the divine queen with the goddess.⁷⁵ We do not know if the name of Isis was also inscribed on the altar, as in the specimens from Alexandria, but this is possible. If so, this would be the earliest document related to Isis in Italy, whose sanctuaries in Campania and Latium appear from the second century BC.⁷⁶ If Isis was involved, one can connect this object with the inscribed lead tablets from Policoro and Selinous, because Isis was identified with Demeter already in Herodotus, and the association of Tyche and Isis would then have reinforced the idea of Isis as a correct equivalent to Demeter.⁷⁷

6.2 TRANSLATIONS

Significant documents suggesting a possible translation of Fortuna as Tyche include a number of bronze strigils bearing marks in Greek on the handles. Vincent Jolivet has produced a partial edition of these marks which, although incomplete, is still the best we have.⁷⁸ These marked strigils seem to have been the product of bronze workshops operating in central Italy, and were particularly widespread in Etruria, in the Gallic territory of modern Marche and Emilia, in Sicily, and at Praeneste, where most of them were found.⁷⁹ Jolivet assumed, with good reason, that Praeneste was the main centre of production of these objects, and this hypothesis has so far been unchallenged. The marks on most of the strigils present a name in the genitive, which is assumed to be the name of the owner of the bronze workshop producing the objects. There are exceptions, however, and it is these

⁷⁴ See below.

⁷⁵ The earliest instance of a Tyche of a ruler—not yet object of a cult—is *I. Magnesia am Sipylus* 1: τῇ τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου Τύχην (after 246 BC). See a discussion in Meyer 2006, 342–8.

⁷⁶ On the early development of the cult of Isis in Italy, see Gasparini 2007, 65–87.

⁷⁷ Hdt. 2, 59. ⁷⁸ Jolivet 1995.

⁷⁹ On the strigils at Praeneste, it is essential to see also Garrucci 1864, I, 133–42; Coarelli 1973; Tagliamonte 1993.

exceptions we are interested in: a significant number of strigils bear female epithets in the nominative: *σώτειρα*, '(female) saviour', *σώζουσα*, 'she who saves', *ὑγία*, 'health', *νίκη*, 'victory'.⁸⁰ These names all appear to be epithets referring to female deities.⁸¹ Now, if the marks on most of the strigils bear information about the workshops of production, it is likely that those bearing epithets have the same function, and that we are looking at strigils produced by a workshop owned or commissioned by one or more sanctuaries.⁸² The marks *σώζουσα*, *ὑγία*, and *νίκη* are attested only in isolated finds, from Musarna and Talamone respectively.⁸³ The mark *σώτειρα*, on the other hand, is attested on sixteen strigils, of which six are from Praeneste, two from Etruria, one from Corsica, one from Lipara, and three from Sicily (whereas three are of unknown provenance).⁸⁴ Most of the archaeological contexts in which they were found are datable around the late fourth/early third centuries BC.⁸⁵

As for the Praenestine production, I believe it is reasonable to suppose that the sanctuary the workshop was connected with was the temple of Fortuna Primigenia, by far the most prominent in the town, and the richest. If my hypothesis is right, we would have a Latin goddess qualified by a Greek epithet. As the strigils must have originated or circulated in a bilingual, Greek and Latin environment, I argue that this must imply that Fortuna was considered a translation of Tyche.

I have already discussed the meaning of the epithet *σώτειρα* and how it was referred to Tyche by Pindar, and it is important to remember that she was for the poet the daughter of Zeus Eleutherios, just as Fortuna Primigenia is called daughter of Jupiter in several inscriptions.⁸⁶ The meaning of salvation and the genealogy from Jupiter/J Zeus might have been the common elements that allowed

⁸⁰ They are Jolivet 1995, nos 84–95.

⁸¹ Coarelli (1973) argued that *σώτειρα* would be a Doric genitive of a personal name, but the strigils with *σώζουσα*, *ὑγία*, and *νίκη* make this hypothesis difficult to support. Tagliamonte and Jolivet follow Garrucci's interpretation that these marks should be interpreted as epithets of female deities.

⁸² Tagliamonte (1993) elaborated this hypothesis.

⁸³ Jolivet 1995, nos 84, 95.

⁸⁴ Those from Etruria, Praeneste, and Corsica are Jolivet 1995, nos 85–92. See also Manganaro 1999, 72–3 (Sicily), and *ILipara* 62.

⁸⁵ Datable contexts are: Aleria in Corsica (Jolivet 1995, no. 85, c.300 BC), Barbarano Romano in Etruria (Jolivet 1995, no. 85 bis, end of fourth century BC), Troina in Sicily (NSc 1961, 383 n. 1, c.250 BC), and Lipari (*ILipara* 62, early fourth century BC).

⁸⁶ Ch.1.

the translation of Fortuna as Tyche in this case. If one has to seek a plausible context for this translation, it is tempting to imagine that the epithet was attributed to Tyche in Syracuse, a town which probably had direct contacts with Praeneste during the fourth century BC, as both parties were allied with the Gauls.⁸⁷ Through these contacts, the epithet might have been transferred to Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste. Although this is speculative, it is a likely assumption that the Greek epithet *σώτειρα* on Praenestine strigils refers to Fortuna Primigenia, and that this must have occurred through her translation as Tyche in a multilingual environment.

A remarkable instance in which Tyche and Fortuna were probably identified in a cultic context occurs in Crete during the second century BC. An inscribed stone informs us that a certain Philotas son of Gnathios, from Epidamnus in Illyria, who was an officer (phrourarch) of the Ptolemaic garrison at Itanos and one of the First Friends of the king, offered a gift to Zeus Soter and Tyche Protogeneia Aienaos.⁸⁸ Margherita Guarducci believed that the inscription should be dated during the reign of Ptolemy V Epiphanes (205–181 BC). In recent years, however, another inscription from Philai in Egypt has been attributed to Philotas, which can be dated around 139–120 BC.⁸⁹ This attribution has made it possible to connect Philotas' presence in Itanos firmly with the reign of Ptolemy VI (186–145 BC), and Chaniotis thinks that he must have been there in the later part of the reign, around 145 BC.⁹⁰ The epithet Protogeneia is unprecedented for Tyche or any other goddess, and when this inscription was discovered modern scholars immediately noticed that it is obviously the Greek translation of the epithet of Fortuna at Praeneste, Primigenia, as

⁸⁷ See Liv. 8, 14, 9 (Praenestines allied with the Gauls in 355 BC); Iust. 20, 5, 4–6 (Dionysius I strikes an alliance with the Gauls in 386 BC), cf. also Liv. 7, 26, 15 (a mysterious Greek fleet assists the Gauls who are fighting against the Romans—according to Livy, sent by Dionysius II). The Gauls fighting in Campania and Latium have famously been interpreted by Marta Sordi as mercenaries paid by Dionysius I and, later, Dionysius II, and this is an attractive hypothesis. See Sordi 1960, 62–71.

⁸⁸ IC 3, 4, 14. On phrourachy, see Scheuble 2009, where Philotas is discussed at 41–3.

⁸⁹ SEG 31 1521. The inscription is a dedication to Egyptian gods. The name of the person offering the gift is not preserved, but the rare patronimic Gnathios and the rare title of First Friend make certain that it must be our Philotas, who moved to Egypt after his post in Itanos.

⁹⁰ Chaniotis 2002, 109.

Plutarch openly says.⁹¹ The two goddesses also share a connection with Jupiter/Zeus Soter, although at Itanos this is not expressed in genealogical terms. A few decades before Philotas, between 217 and 209 BC, one of the officers at Itanos was a certain Lucius son of Gaius, a Roman.⁹² We have no other evidence for Italians at Itanos during this period, but there might have been more, and they might have brought their gods with them. Spyridakis argued that it is unlikely that Lucius was responsible for bringing Fortuna Primigenia to Itanos because at the time the goddess did not have a temple at Rome (the temple of Fortuna Primigenia on the Quirinal was founded in 191 BC).⁹³ This is hardly a reasonable objection, because according to some scholars Fortuna Primigenia might have had an earlier temple at Rome, although this is not certain, and because our Lucius might have been a worshipper of Fortuna Primigenia, whether or not she had a temple at Rome.⁹⁴ But if the officer Lucius or some other Italian was responsible for bringing Fortuna Primigenia to Itanos, or Philotas came to know the goddess in his native Illyria, there can be little doubt that Tyche Protogeneia from Itanos must be the translation of Fortuna Primigenia.⁹⁵ Through Zeus Soter, we also encounter again the association between Fortuna/Tyche and salvation which we have found in the strigils from central Italy, and which was already in Pindar.

Reconstructing the right historical context for this piece of evidence is not easy. One has to imagine an intensive exchange between the Romans and the Ptolemaic kingdom during the third century BC. During the late third and second centuries BC, papyri and inscriptions testify to the presence of Italians in Egypt.⁹⁶ I have already discussed above the wine jug of Arsinoe Philadelphos from Italy, on which she is identified with Agathe Tyche. This all suggests a picture of intense cultural contacts between Italy and the Ptolemaic kingdom already from the third century BC, which could have reinforced the tendency to translate Tyche as Fortuna that had started through earlier contacts with Sicily and Magna Graecia. It is striking that, at Itanos, this happened with Fortuna Primigenia, whose derivation here should

⁹¹ Plut., *q. Rom.* 106; *Fort. Rom.* 10. For an early discussion of Tyche Protogeneia/Fortuna Primigenia, see Reinach 1911, esp. 411–12.

⁹² IC 3, 4, 18. Scheuble 2009, 39–41.

⁹³ Spyridakis 1969.

⁹⁴ Aronen 1995a.

⁹⁵ I do not find it convincing to justify the epithet with the myth of Protogeneia daughter of Erechtheus, as in Spyridakis 1969, 46.

⁹⁶ Pros. Ptol. 10 (2002), pp. 278–9.

be Praenestine rather than Roman. The story of the sacrifices offered by Prusias II of Bithynia to Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste during his journey in Italy in 167 BC also testifies to the prestige of the Praenestine goddess in the Greek East at that time, and was perhaps probably easily 'translatable' as Tyche.⁹⁷

In the later part of the second century BC, evidence from Athenian/Roman Delos shows what would appear to be another step in the same direction. Two inscribed offerings to Isis Tyche Protogeneia were found in the biggest temple at Delos dedicated to Egyptian deities (the so-called Sarapieion C).⁹⁸ The gifts were offered by a certain Ptolemy of Polyrrenhia, described in one of the inscriptions as interpreter of dreams and composer of aretalogies (*ὄνειροκρίτης καὶ ἀρεταλόγος*), and by his wife Kallistion, under the priesthood of Gaios from Acharnae, which we can date precisely to 115–114 BC.⁹⁹ The couple offered one of the gifts 'for the people of Athens' (ID 2072: *ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων*), and this has been taken to imply that Ptolemy normally lived and exercised his profession in Athens.¹⁰⁰ It is difficult not to connect Isis Tyche Protogeneia with the Tyche Protogeneia honoured by Philotas, considering that both individuals had connections with Crete, and the epithet Protogeneia is so peculiar. The association between Isis and Tyche developed in Ptolemaic Egypt already in the middle of the third century BC in the context of divine honours offered to Arsinoe after her death, as I have discussed above.

This discussion has shown the usefulness of looking at the equivalence of Fortuna and Tyche in terms of translation. As translations must be based on common elements, defining some general characteristics of Tyche was essential. An early characteristic of Tyche from the archaic period was her connection with Demeter, which emerges already from the *Homeric Hymn to Demeter*, is attested in the fifth-century tablet from Selinous, where she might have been associated with Persephone, and is also found in the later tablet from Heraklea in Lucania. In numerous legal documents, Tyche was also closely connected with the word *θεός* in invocations, already from the sixth century BC. This testifies clearly to a semantic relationship of the

⁹⁷ Ch.1, Liv. 45, 44 with Briscoe 2012, 762.

⁹⁸ The inscriptions are ID 2072–2073; on the Sarapieion C, see Bruneau 1970, 462–3; Siard 2003.

⁹⁹ The priesthood of Gaios can be dated through the eponymous year thanks to ID 1900. For the profession of *ἀρεταλόγος*, see Jördens 2013.

¹⁰⁰ Martínez Fernández 1999, 422.

two terms, probably conceived in terms of equal powers or complementarity of domains. Benevolence is also a clear characteristic of Tyche which emerges very strongly from her recurring and extremely common epithet Agathe. Although, in the Pindaric ode, Tyche might have been a personification, one can also consider the effect of the power of Tyche over the life of Ergoteles (and the overthrow of tyrants?), described in a positive way. Pindar's characterization of Tyche as saviour (σώτειρα) fits well with her strong relationship with the gods, as does her genealogy from Zeus Eleutherios. As I have mentioned, Zeus was called Soter in fifth-century Himera, and there could have been a connection between Zeus Eleutherios and Tyche in Syracusan cults contemporary to the composition of the victory ode.

Some of these elements were probably taken as a semantic base to establish Tyche as a Greek translation of Fortuna, and vice versa. There are a few instances in which Tyche seems to have been translated as Fortuna. The *podulum* of Fortuna from Otranto may be an example of that, if this object is compared with the dedication to Demeter, Kore, and Agathe Tyche from Herakleia in Lucania, and put in the context of the popularity of Demeter in Messapia. A Greek translation of Fortuna is the obvious requirement for the production of the strigils bearing the epithet σώτειρα, attributed to Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste. I have argued that this Greek translation must have been Tyche, and this might have happened through the contacts that Praeneste had with Syracuse in the fourth century BC. In this case salvation and a connection with Jupiter/Zeus might have been the common elements which made the translation possible.

In other instances it is Tyche which seems to be the translation of Fortuna. The most impressive example of this is Tyche Protogeneia from Crete in the second century BC, which the epithet shows to be a direct translation of Fortuna Primigenia, originating in the Ptolemaic garrison at Itanos. The epithet Protogeneia is so uncommon that there can be little doubt about it. A further common element underlying this translation might have been the relationship with Zeus Soter, which could echo the relationship between Fortuna Primigenia and Jupiter at Praeneste. A further common semantic element in this translation is the epithet Soter attributed to Zeus, which seems to recall the epithet Soteira attributed to Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste. This recurring association also gives a context for the translation of Fortuna Redux as Τύχη Σωτήριος in the *Res Gestae* of Augustus, which I discussed at the beginning of the chapter.

The early imperial translation of the goddesses was clearly very well rooted.

In the pages above Isis has appeared now and then. The wine jug of Arsinoe shows not only that in Italy the connection between Agathe Tyche and a ruler must have been known from the middle of the third century BC, but also that the connection of Isis with Tyche might have been familiar. This relationship probably cannot be characterized simply as translation: as I have discussed, at the time of the wine jug the name of Isis had been circulating in Greek for a long time. Rather than a translation one should probably see here an example of the second way in which, according to Jan Assmann, deities tend to be brought together, which is through hierarchy: if two goddesses were considered to have the highest place in the hierarchy of gods, they tended to be equated.¹⁰¹ In Roman Delos, Tyche Protogeneia becomes Isis Tyche Protogeneia. So, if Isis was so closely associated with Tyche, and even with a Tyche which originated as a translation of Fortuna, can we say that Isis was a translation of Fortuna? In this case the relationship does not appear to be transitive in the period under scrutiny, and we do not find any evidence for a direct association of Fortuna and Isis, which means that this was not one of the common conceptual elements involved in the translation.¹⁰² If Tyche and Isis were equated because of their place in the divine hierarchy, a reason why Fortuna did not take this over after the translation with Tyche was established is perhaps that she lacked the hierarchical position that Tyche enjoyed.

¹⁰¹ Assmann 2008, 58–62.

¹⁰² This eventually changes in the Imperial period. See Sfameni Gasparro 1998. Although in the novel of Apuleius, book 11, Isis and Fortuna are identified, one should also take notice that this does not appear to be the case in an inscription from Praeneste (CIL 14 2867, also Antoninian period), which records the offer of Lucius Sariolenus of a series of statues, including one of Isityche, to be erected in the temple of Fortuna Primigenia. Isityche is here distinguished from Fortuna.

A Godless Goddess

A great variety of meanings was attached to the goddess Fortuna by different individuals and groups. The vast majority of the meanings we have encountered so far were positive, spanning from victory at war to safety from danger, welfare, good luck, etc. However, I have already pointed out a few instances in which the meanings attached to Fortuna seemed to be far less positive. The inscription on the lot of Servius was an early example: however one interprets the inscription, the expression ‘(remember that) Servius perished because of *fortuna*/Fortuna’ (*fortuna servios perit*) sounds most definitely threatening.¹ Moreover, I have discussed how, on the Esquiline at Rome, there was an altar of Mala Fortuna (Bad Luck), which might be as old as the late third or early second century BC.² In the passage in which Cicero describes the oracular practices which took place in the sanctuary of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste, he underlined how hazard and recklessness played an important role in lot sortition.³ Finally, in a previous chapter I have pointed to multiple examples in literary texts—chiefly the Caesarean *Commentarii*—in which *fortuna* could be a capricious superhuman power, although these sources also have allusions to the goddess.⁴ These pieces of evidence show that negative or ambiguous meanings were attached to the goddess Fortuna, and ancient authors occasionally show a certain embarrassment about it (Caesar—for example—does not explicitly identify his *fortuna* with the goddess), but also draw attention to the inextricable symbiosis of goddess and concept.

The evidence summarized in the above paragraph also draws attention to the moral ambiguity of *fortuna*. The current historiographical

¹ See ch.2.

² See ch.4.

³ See ch.1.

⁴ See ch.5.

narrative on the negative meanings of Fortuna is that negative meanings were an expression of the Hellenization of the goddess, of her evolution from an Italian goddess of fertility to a Hellenized goddess of fate. But this reconstruction creates several problems. How can it be accepted if some of the most ancient documents on Fortuna (including the lot of Servius) involve the attribution of negative meanings? This would presuppose looking at a body of contemporary evidence and arbitrarily establishing a distinction between what is 'native' and what is 'Hellenized'. A good example is Champeaux's reading of *Mala Fortuna* in Plautus and Cicero: the goddess is considered the product of Hellenistic influence, but at the same time it is observed that nothing of the sort ever existed in the Greek world.⁵ The connection between Fortuna and bad luck here will be radically reconsidered, and it will be seen in a more nuanced way than as the expression of a 'foreign', Hellenic influence on an 'original' Italian, benevolent Fortuna by looking at the concrete sociopolitical contexts in which these negative meanings were discussed.

Although the attribution of negative meanings to Fortuna is less documented in comparison with the great bulk of documents regarding her positive meanings, it is of great importance because it questions the boundaries between goddess and concept. If *fortuna* can also be bad luck, chance, hazard, or a capricious superhuman power, is Fortuna worthy of being a goddess? And, if she does not deserve to be a goddess, what does this say of other gods and goddesses? One can see that negative meanings attached to Fortuna made it possible to formulate arguments against the existence of gods. Moreover, the existence of bad luck also had strong political implications, if Rome's empire was considered to be a product of the benevolence of fortune. In this chapter, I shall consider ancient texts dealing with this problematic characteristic of the goddess Fortuna, i.e. the ability to attract negative meanings. I shall argue that *fortuna*/Fortuna had the ability to attract negative meanings for all the periods we have documents on, and one must assume that this was an important characteristic of the goddess. I shall also argue that the sources proposing the denial of the existence of the goddess Fortuna because of the ability to attract negative meanings operate yet other attributions of meanings, exploiting the profound connection between concept and goddess,

⁵ Champeaux 1982–7, II, 93.

and aimed at testing the boundaries between them. Part of these arguments depends on Greek reflections on Tyche: the translatability of Fortuna and Tyche made it possible for arguments on Tyche to be transferred to Fortuna, and vice versa. However, I shall argue that the attribution of negative meanings to Fortuna does not depend on the greater or lesser extent of Greek influence, but rather on well-defined sociopolitical contexts in which these debates took place. It is one of the rare occasions in which we can track in the ancient evidence clear signs of a conceptual struggle, namely the attribution of conflicting meanings to Fortuna, which can create a shift in her broader significance. In the first part of the chapter, I shall focus on the evidence related to the second century BC, and, in the second, on that from the late Republican period. The analysis of all literary texts in which negative meanings are attributed to Fortuna is beside the point here, and I shall rather concentrate on texts that explicitly discuss the moral problem of a negative goddess Fortuna.⁶ Most of the material discussed below will be literary rather than directly pertinent to the domain of cult: unsurprisingly, in a cultic context negative meanings are rarely attributed to Fortuna.

7.1 CRITICIZING FROM A DISTANCE

In early Latin literature Fortuna was clearly a very popular goddess, and the concept of *fortuna* was likewise common, as attested by several proverbial sentences and mottos. One can see this proverbial character already in the famous *sententia* of Appius Claudius Caecus, ‘every man is the craftsman of his own fortune’, one of the earliest fragments of Latin literature.⁷ This proverb is echoed by Plautus, ‘for a wise man makes up his own fortune’, and by a later funerary Paelignian inscription, where a certain Caius Annaeus is called the ‘craftsman of (his own) fortune’.⁸ Another Latin *sententia* is ‘fortune helps the brave’ (*fortis fortuna adiuvat*), attested in Ennius, Terence,

⁶ For a full discussion of literary texts, see Champeaux 1982–7, II, 87–116, 171–202.

⁷ Fr. 3 Morel: *Sed res docuit id verum esse quod in carminibus Appius ait, fabrum esse suae quemque fortunae.*

⁸ Pl., *Trin.* 363: *nam sapiens quidem pol ipsus fingit fortunam sibi*; CIL 1² 3230 = *Imagines Italicae*, CORFIVM 11: *forte faber*. According to Marx 1897, the *sententiae*

and Cicero, who calls it an old proverb (*vetus proverbium*).⁹ These proverbs show a generally optimistic view of the concept of *fortuna*, but at the same time imply the possibility of bad luck, although it can be mitigated by an active and positive attitude to one's fate. Fortune frequently appears as bad luck in early Latin literature, and she is called adverse (*adversa*), uncertain (*incerta*), miserable (*misera*), and the like.¹⁰ But these fragmentary verses, whose context can rarely be reconstructed with any precision, do not have any clear reference to the goddess Fortuna, and they present rather than discuss the negative meanings of fortune and their implications.

The earliest real discussion of bad luck explicitly attributed to the goddess Fortuna is a monologue in Plautus' *Pseudolus*, performed for the first time in 191 BC. The cunning slave Pseudolus, the main character of the play, has just intercepted a letter from Harpax, a messenger of the Macedonian official to whom the girl Phoenicium had been sold by her owner Ballio, and he is overjoyed by the stroke of luck, which he sees as an opportunity to seize Phoenicium for his master's son Calidorus.

669-87 *nam ipsa mi Opportunitas non potuit opportunius / advenire
quam haec allatast mi opportune epistula. / nam haec allata cornu
copiaest, ubi inest quidquid volo: / hic doli, hic fallaciae omnes, hic sunt
sycophantiae, / hic argentum, hic amica amanti erili filio. / atque ego nunc
me ut gloriosum faciam et copi pectore: / quo modo quicque agerem, ut
lenoni surruperem mulierculam, / iam instituta ornata cuncta in ordine,
animo ut volueram, / certa deformata habebam; sed profecto hoc sic erit:
/ centum doctum hominum consilia sola haec devincit dea, / Fortuna.
atque hoc verum est: proinde ut quisque Fortuna utitur, / ita praeccellet
atque exinde sapere eum omnes dicimus. / bene ubi quoi scimus consilium
accidisse, hominem catum / eum esse declaramus, stultum autem illum
quoi vortit male. / stulti hau scimus, frustra ut simus, quom quid cupienter
dari / petimus nobis, quasi quid in rem sit possimus noscere. / certa*

of Ap. Claudius might have been influenced by the Syracusan comedian Philemon, but in the case of the fragment on *fortuna* this seems to be extremely doubtful. The argument is based on the fact that Plautus' comedy is a translation of a lost comedy of Philemon, but the verse may very well be a direct reference to Appius Claudius himself. See also a discussion in Humm 2005, 525-6, where Marx's hypothesis is accepted with reservations.

⁹ Enn., *Ann.* 233 Skutsch; Ter., *Phor.* 203; Cic., *Tusc.* 2, 11.

¹⁰ *Adversa*: Pac., fr. 200 Schierl; Lucil. 237; Acc., *trag.* 460; *incerta*: Plaut., *Capt.* 245; *misera*: Plaut., *Rud.* 185.

*mittimus, dum incerta petimus; atque hoc evenit / in labore atque in dolore, ut mors obrepat interim. / sed iam satis est philosophatum.*¹¹

Opportunity herself could not have made a more opportune appearance than his opportune arrival with this letter. Here I've been presented a cornucopia containing all my heart's desire; everything is wrapped up in here—all the schemes and tricks and dodges I could need, the money, and my loving master's loving mistress! Now I can crow and puff my chest out! Of course I had it all worked out before—how I was going to set about getting the girl out of the pimp's hands; I had everything prepared and provided, just as I wanted it to be; I'd thought of everything and planned it all out . . . but you know how it is . . . and always will be. The best laid plans of a hundred skilled men can be knocked sideways by one single goddess, Fortuna. It's a fact; it's only being on good terms with Fortuna that makes a man successful and gives him the reputation of being a clever fellow; and we, as soon as we hear of someone striking it lucky, admire his shrewdness, and laugh at the folly of the poor devil who's having a run of bad luck. For that matter, we're all fools though we don't know it, for running so hard after this or that, as if we could possibly tell for ourselves what's good for us and what isn't. We lose the certainties while seeking for uncertainties; and so we go on, in toil and trouble, until death creeps up on us . . . but enough of this philosophizing (trans. E.F. Watling, slightly modified).

Opportunity is personified and she is probably connected with Fortuna, having a cornucopia, a characteristic of the iconography of Tyche already attested in the statue in Smyrna mentioned by Pausanias.¹² Previously in the play, Pseudolus had said multiple times that he had no idea of how to rescue Phoenicium, and the monologue is developed around the theme of opportunity and luck.¹³ The moral problem involved in the favour of Fortuna is at the background of the argument: if, as Pseudolus says, Fortuna is the only goddess able to overcome 'the good counsels of a hundred wise men' (*centum doctum hominum consilia*), 'whoever is an associate with Fortuna will excel' (*quisque Fortuna utitur, ita praeccellet*) and will be considered a wise man, whereas whoever is unlucky will be considered a fool (*stultum autem illum quoi vortit male*), this might be taken to imply that humans ought not to put too much trust in Fortuna, and should not give up what is certain for what is uncertain. Fortuna is not

¹¹ See Willcock 1987, 120–1, Lefèvre 1997, 62–3.

¹² See ch.6.

¹³ See e.g. 394–414; 561–74.

explicitly characterized as negative, and her status as deity is not denied, although moral questions are raised about her. According to Lefèvre, this monologue would be one of the aspects of the Plautine comedy that most closely resembles original Greek New Comedy models.¹⁴ Plautus is thought to have been very conscious of his translation strategies.¹⁵ Even if this monologue was somehow inspired by a New Comedy model, if Plautus chose to include it in the play there was an expectation that the audience would have recognized Fortuna as the object of the speech.

Pseudolus, however, closes this passage with the statement 'but enough of this philosophizing' (*sed iam satis est philosophatum*). This statement not only makes clear that the preceding statements were some kind of philosophical parody, it also creates a distance between the character and his philosophizing, diminishing its importance. Plautus, therefore, questions the morality involved in the favours of Fortuna, but he does so in jokes and parody.

It is with Pacuvius that we find a condemnation of Fortuna with much stronger tones:

366–75 Ribb. = fr. 262 Schierl: *Fortunam insanam esse et caecam et brutam perhibent philosophi / Saxoque instare in globoso praedicant volubili / id quo saxum inpulerit fors, eo cadere Fortunam autumant. / Insanam autem esse aiunt, quia atrox, incerta instabilisque sit; / Caecam ob eam rem esse iterant, quia nihil cernat, quo sese adplicet; / Brutam, quia dignum atque indignum nequeat internoscere. / Sunt autem alii philosophi, qui contra Fortunam negant / Ullam misera in aetate esse: Temeritatem esse autumant. / Id magis veri simile esse usus reapse experiundo edocet: / velut Orestes modo fuit rex, factust mendicus modo. / Naufragio +nempe re ergo id fructu+ Forte aut Fortuna optigit.*

Fortuna is mad, blind, and brutish, some philosophers maintain. They declare that she stands upon a revolving globe of stone; whither Chance impels the stone, thither, they say, does Fortuna fall. They declare that she is mad because she is cruel, uncertain, and inconstant. Moreover, she is blind, they repeat, for that she fails wholly to perceive whereto she attaches herself; brutish because she knows not how to tell worthy from unworthy. But there are other philosophers who, on the contrary, deny that in our wretched life there be any such thing as Fortuna; there is, they say, Blind Accident. That this is more like the truth, is proved by the actual experience of life; even as Orestes now was king, and now

¹⁴ Lefèvre 1997, 101–5.

¹⁵ Feeney 2016, 87–8.

became a beggar. Surely by the shipwreck + and did not befall by Chance or Fortune (trans. H. Caplan, modified).

This fragment is quoted by the anonymous author of the rhetorical handbook *Rhetorica ad Herennium* as an example of a faulty argument (2, 36), without reference to the title of the tragedy it comes from, although the reference to Orestes makes it plausible that the verses come from *Chryses* or the *Dulorestes*, the two known tragedies of Pacuvius having Orestes as a character.¹⁶ In the passage, two different views on Fortuna are attributed to two different kinds of philosophers. The first view is expressed in verses 1-6: Fortuna is insane, blind, and brutish (*insana, caeca, bruta*). Verses 2-3 present a striking image of Fortuna: she is standing on a spherical boulder, ready to fall when chance (*fors*) dictates so. The following verses explore the epithets given to Fortuna in the first verse: she is *insana* because she is cruel, uncertain, and unstable; *caeca* because she does not see where she goes; *bruta* because she does not distinguish between the worthy and the unworthy man. Although Fortuna is called *caeca* also in later sources, including Cicero, she is *insana* and *bruta* only in this passage, and this highlights the originality of these verses.¹⁷ As Champeaux has shown, this passage has strong resemblances to the description of Tyche which appears in the *Cebetis tabula*, a philosophical text attributed to a certain Cebes, probably composed in the first or second century AD.¹⁸ The text consists of a description (*ekphrasis*) of a painted tablet representing an allegory of human life kept in a temple of Cronus. An old man explains the meaning of the painting to a visitor of the temple. At some point the visitor asks ‘who is that woman, seemingly blind and mad, standing on a round stone?’ (7, 1: ἡ δὲ γυνὴ ἐκείνη τίς ἐστιν ἡ ὥσπερ τυφλὴ καὶ μαινομένη τις εἶναι δοκοῦσα καὶ ἐστηκυῖα ἐπὶ λίθου τινὸς στρογγύλου), to which the old man replies that she is Tyche, and she is not only blind and mad (τυφλὴ καὶ μαινομένη), but also deaf. The round stone, the old man explains, signifies that she is unstable and she gives and

¹⁶ For a discussion, see Schierl 2006, 532–6. There are two textual problems: one regards the last verse, which may or may not belong to the fragment, and the other regards the order of verses four and five, which is inverted in the *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, but is usually restored as printed here by the editors of Pacuvius, in order to follow the same order of attributes of Fortuna presented in the first verse.

¹⁷ *Caeca*: Cic., *Phil.* 13, 10; *Ov.*, *Pont.* 3, 1, 126; *Plin.*, *NH* 2, 22; *Apul.*, *Met.* 7, 2.

¹⁸ Schierl 2006, 535; Champeaux 1982–7, II, 194–5.

takes away things at random. This image matches the description of Pacuvius so precisely that there must have been a direct or indirect common source. Fortuna standing on a globe (ὑπὲρ σφαίρας) in precarious balance also appears in Plutarch's *De fortuna Romanorum* (4). The *tabula* shows some aspects which might be connected with Stoicism, in particular in the way Tyche is discussed.¹⁹ In the final part of the work, the old man reveals to the visitor that the god (*daimon*) gives to all those who enter the enclosure of life the advice that they should not trust Tyche, and should try to be indifferent to her gifts, not rejoicing excessively when they receive them nor despairing when they lose them, because she is random and irrational (31). This could be a reminder of the Stoic preoccupation that the wise man ought to be well guarded against the blows of fortune (*contra fortunae verbera*), as attested in a fragment of Panaetius of Rhodes.²⁰

The view that Pacuvius attributed to the second group of philosophers, described much more concisely, is that Fortuna does not exist, but casualty is ruled by *temeritas*, blind accident. It has been argued that *temeritas* here could be the equivalent of ταυτόματον, and that the opposition *fortuna-temeritas* would correspond to the two kinds of chance according to Aristotle, *tyche-tautomaton*, but the text of Pacuvius is probably too vague to make the argument compelling.²¹ This view is what the authorial voice chooses to endorse as more like the truth (*magis veri simile esse*), referring to the example of Orestes. The relationship between *fortuna* and *temeritas* in this text seems to be paradiastolic, and corresponds to the kind of conceptual change connected with rhetoric identified by Quentin Skinner (see Introduction). The same circumstances that someone may describe as related to Fortuna are a result of *temeritas* to some other people.

There are three points to make here. The first regards the presentation of the criticism towards Fortuna as a minority point of view. Although the comic tone which we have encountered in the monologue of Pseudolus is absent, I believe that, with the explicit attribution of these views to philosophers, Pacuvius is marginalizing the arguments presented here, as Plautus did using the expression *philosophatum*. The attribution

¹⁹ Squire-Grethlein 2014, 290–1. Seddon 2005, 183–4.

²⁰ T 87 Alesse, with commentary. Cf. also Cic., *off.* 1, 66–7, certainly derived from Panaetius, with Dyck 1996, 195–6. On Polybius and Stoic *tyche*, see Brouwer 2011.

²¹ Schierl 2006, 535–6 cf. Arist., *phys.* 2, 4–6. On chance in Aristotle, see now Dudley 2012.

of the criticism to certain groups of philosophers implicitly makes clear that this is not regarded as the common opinion, and that the author, who obviously does not belong to the groups, places his authorial persona at a certain distance from them. The second point is that Fortuna here is not explicitly called a goddess. Although arguments from silence imply uncertainty, I believe it is likely that this might have been to distance this negative representation of Fortuna from the goddess. Moreover, if the source of the representation of Pacuvius is somehow similar to the *Cebetis tabula*, we are dealing with a deliberate construction of an allegorical representation of Fortuna to express a certain moral teaching. The final point is that one can see a semantic struggle going on between different groups on the broader significance which must be attributed to the negative meanings attached to Fortuna, with one group seemingly transferring the negative meanings of *fortuna* to *temeritas*, using the rhetorical technique of *paradiastole*.

Ascribing the arguments on a negative, unstable Fortuna to philosophers and philosophizing, both Plautus and Pacuvius marginalize them, attributing what they write to a very restricted group of foreign intellectuals. I believe that the reason why they do so is the debate on the connection between Tyche/Fortuna and Roman imperialism, which we know was very lively at the time in which Pacuvius was writing.²² The debate of which we have traces in Polybius is relevant to Roman attitudes to a negative fortune as exemplified by Plautus and Pacuvius mainly because—as has already been discussed—the Romans themselves might have engaged in it. This makes rather clear why the criticism towards Fortuna and the attribution of negative meanings to her were largely marginalized in the second century BC. If Fortuna contributed to Roman conquest and the creation of the Empire, it is understandable that the instability of Fortuna as expressed by Pacuvius and, to a lesser extent, Plautus, needed to be put under control, and the potential negative meanings attributed to Fortuna lessened or rejected. The danger implicit in accepting a role of Fortuna in Roman conquest is that, as she turned away from the Macedonian kings, she might one day turn away from the Romans. For this reason attaching negative meanings to Fortuna might have been considered inappropriate and the discussion of her instability marginalized.

²² See ch.4.

7.2 BAD LUCK AND CIVIL WARS

The moral problem of an unstable, potentially negative Fortuna is explored much more in later sources. As we have seen in a previous chapter, the powers of *fortuna* and how to deal with them are central to Caesar's writing, and Caesar significantly refuses to take a position on the question of the divinity of Fortuna.²³ It is in Cicero—especially in his philosophical works—that we find the only explicit reflections on the problem connected with the negative meanings of Fortuna, and her benevolence and divine status. We have already encountered one of the key passages, the description of the oracle of Fortuna Primigenia in *De divinatione*, quoted in full in a previous chapter.²⁴ Let me recap here the words that Marcus used to criticize the practice of cleromancy, which is close to other forms of divination in which chance rather than reason is chiefly involved: 'in such things accident and chance are effective rather than reason and good counsel' (2, 85: *quibus in rebus temeritas et casus, non ratio nec consilium valet*). These words refer in general to cleromancy, and, subsequently, to the oracle of Fortuna Primigenia. One should note that 'accident', *temeritas*, was also the word used by Pacuvius to describe the belief of those who believed in a power alternative to Fortuna. Here *temeritas* is associated rather than opposed to Fortuna, as in other Ciceronian passages.²⁵

The argument for questioning the divine status of Fortuna was potentially formulated already in *De legibus*, a work written in the late 50s, although Cicero decided not to develop it too far. In book 2, one of the speakers of the dialogue—the persona of Marcus himself—describes the ideal laws on religion, including the gods that ought to be worshipped, first as basic formulation in archaizing language, then with a more extended commentary. There are three categories of gods deserving temples and cults: those who have always inhabited heaven, those who were formerly humans and became gods, and the virtues that grant to men access to heaven, whereas vices should never be worshipped.²⁶ Francesca Fontanella has argued that, in this passage,

²³ Ch.5. ²⁴ Ch.1.

²⁵ E.g. Cic., *Lael.* 20: *posita non tam in consiliis nostris quam in fortunae temeritate; par. Sto.* 2, 18.

²⁶ 2, 19 (Powell): *Divos et eos qui caelestes semper habiti sunt colunto et ollos quos endo caelo merita locaverunt, Herculem Liberum Aesculapium Castorem Pollucem Quirinum, ast olla propter quae datur homini ascensus in caelum, Mentem Virtutem Pietatem Fidem; earumque laudum delubra sunt, neve ulla vitiorum.*

Cicero is trying to defend the popular belief in gods, by accepting the theory of deified men and putting it in a context of traditional Roman religion, by connecting it with the cult of conceptual deities.²⁷ According to Fontanella, Cicero wished to provide a moral teaching to Republican elites: to be deified, they had to embody moral virtues. The theory of virtues is further elaborated later in the same book. The main point of interest to us is the question that virtues deserve to be worshipped for their moral value, whereas vices should, adversely, never be worshipped, an argument with powerful consequences for Fortuna, as the subsequent passage where the character of Marcus comments on this law makes clear.

2, 28 (Powell): *Bene vero quod Mens Pietas Virtus Fides consecratur {manu}, quarum omnium Romae dedicata publice templa sunt, ut illa qui habeant (habent autem omnes boni) deos ipsos in animis suis collocatos putent. Nam illud vitiosum Athenis, quod Cylonio scelere expiato, Epimenide Crete suadente, fecerunt Contumeliae fanum et Impudentiae; virtutes enim, non vitia consecrare decet. Araque vetusta in Palatio Febris, et altera Esquilii Malae Fortuna, detestando, atque omnia eiusmodi repudianda sunt. Quod si fingenda nomina, Vicae Potae potius vincendi atque potiundi, Statae standi, cognominaque Statoris et Invicti Iovis, rerumque expetendarum nomina Salutis Honoris Opis Victoriae, quoniamque exspectatione rerum bonarum erigitur animus, recte etiam Spes a Calatino consecrata est; Fortunaque sit, vel Huiusce diei (nam valet in omnes dies), vel Respicens ad opem ferendam, vel Fors in quo incerti casus significantur magis, vel Primigenia a gignendo.*

It is right that Mens, Pietas, Virtus, and Fides should be deified: and in Rome temples have long been publicly dedicated to those qualities, so that those who possess them (and all good people do) should believe that actual gods have been set up within their souls. At Athens, after atoning for the crime against Cylon, on the advice of the Cretan Epimenides they built a shrine to Contumelia and Impudentia.²⁸ That was a misguided act; for virtues, not vices, should be deified. The ancient altar to Febris on the Palatine, and the other to Mala Fortuna on the Esquiline must be refused recognition, and all things of that kind are to be rejected. If we have to devise names, we should choose rather ones like Vica Pota from winning and conquering, or Stata from standing, and titles like Jupiter Stator and Invictus, and names of desirable things like Salus, Honos, Ops, and Victoria. Because the spirit

²⁷ Fontanella 1995. Also Dyck 2004, 332–6; Cole 2013, 108.

²⁸ Which we know (*FGrHist* 457 T 4e) to have been Hybris and Anaideia.

is raised by the expectation of good things, Spes was rightly deified by Calatinus. And let Fortuna be acknowledged as a deity, either as Fortuna Huiusce Diei, for it has influence over every day, or Fortuna Respiciens, for she may send help, or Fors Fortuna in cases where uncertain events are particularly indicated, or Fortuna Primigenia from giving birth (trans. N. Rudd, modified).

It is evident that, for the Marcus character, the connection between the name of a god and a concept is essential. If virtues must be worshipped whereas vices must not, what are the implications for Fortuna? Here Fortuna is both a vice and a virtue, depending on the epithet. It is clear that by 'vice' Cicero means a conceptual deity to which negative meanings are attached. Mala Fortuna, bad luck, is a vice, and she should not be worshipped as she normally is at her altar on the Esquiline. Fortuna Huiusce Diei, Respiciens, Fors, and Primi-genia do not have negative implications, and they subsequently count as virtues. In conclusion, the position expressed by the Marcus character in *De legibus* is that Fortuna remains a goddess as long as positive meanings are attached to her, whereas if negative meanings are connected to Fortuna, she should not be considered a goddess. The Marcus character in the dialogue is constructed to present Cicero himself as a conciliatory moderate with views that can be shared by everyone.²⁹ It is, therefore, remarkable that he expresses the problem of attribution of negative meanings to Fortuna in such explicit terms, and one can see how different this attitude is from Plautus and Pacuvius, and how original the position expressed in the book is. With this passage Cicero is deliberately innovating, and he is explicitly trying to reform traditional religious attitudes. This must be connected with the contemporary sociopolitical context, as the 50s were turbulent years for Roman politics in general, and to Cicero in particular, in bitter conflict against Clodius. It is worth noting that, as we have seen in a previous chapter (5), Cicero makes speeches associating Fortuna with Caesar and Pompey in 56 BC, a few years before he probably started working on *De legibus*.³⁰ The way in which Fortuna is able here to grant men access to heaven must be understood in connection with those speeches, but so is the argument that a negative Fortuna does not deserve to be a goddess. This passage,

²⁹ See Dyck 2004, 18–19.

³⁰ Ch.5, on the date of composition of *De legibus*, see Dyck 2004, 5–7.

written in the same period in which Caesar composed *De bello Gallico*, can provide an intellectual context to Caesar's refusal to refer to *fortuna* as a goddess.

But the most radical criticism of the divine status of Fortuna that we find in the Ciceronian corpus is in a passage of *De natura deorum*, the book on theology that Cicero wrote between 45 and 44 BC.³¹ In book 2, Balbus exposes the Stoic view on gods, using categories that resemble very closely those used by the Marcus character in *De legibus*. The argument goes that some things bring such a great benefit (*utilitas*) to mankind that men thought they could not have arisen without a divine goodness, therefore they called the thing generated by the god, with the name of the god himself (2, 60: *illud quod erat a deo natum nomine ipsius dei nuncupabant*), as in the expression *sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus*, where the names of the gods symbolize food, wine, and love respectively. Another instance is when a thing embodies a power so much greater (*in qua vis inest maior aliqua*) that this power itself is called god (*ut ea ipsa vis nominetur deus*). In case of all the things whose power was so great that it could not be controlled without a god (*quarum omnium rerum quia vis erat tanta ut sine deo regi non posset*), the thing itself obtains the name of the gods (*ipsa res deorum nomen optinuit*). Several examples follow, such as Fides, Mens, Virtus, Ops, Concordia, Libertas, Victoria, but Fortuna is not included. Balbus' position recalls that of the Marcus character in *De legibus*, and is justified by references to traditional Roman religious practices.³² Fortuna is essential in the answer to Balbus formulated by Cotta in book 3:

3, 61: *Nam mentem fidem, spem, virtutem, honorem, victoriam, salutem, concordiam ceteraque huiusmodi rerum vim habere videmus, non deorum. Aut enim in nobismet insunt ipsis, ut mens, ut spes, ut fides, ut virtus, ut concordia, aut optandae nobis sunt, ut honos, ut salus, ut victoria; quarum rerum utilitatem video, video etiam consecrata simulacra; quare autem in iis vis deorum insit, tum intellegam, cum ex te cognovero. Quo in genere vel maxime est fortuna numeranda, quam nemo ab inconstantia et temeritate seiunget, quae digna certe non sunt deo.*

³¹ On the composition of the work, see Pease 1955–8, I, 20–2 and Dyck 2003a, 2–5.

³² Cole 2013, 154.

Mens, Fides, Spes, Virtus, Honos, Victoria, Salus, Concordia, and others of the same kind we must envisage as having the power of things, not of gods; for they are either qualities that reside within us, such as *mens*, *spes*, *fides*, *virtus*, and *concordia*, or they are aims to which we aspire, like *honos*, *salus*, *victoria*. I appreciate that these are beneficial qualities, and I note that statues are dedicated in their honour; but why divine powers should reside in them I shall understand only when my researches reveal it. Fortuna has the strongest of claims to inclusion in this category of deities, yet no one will claim to distinguish it from what is fickle and random, and these are qualities quite unworthy of a deity (trans. P.G. Walsh, modified).

Cotta then attacks the central point of Balbus' argument, the connection between gods and concepts.³³ He adds that the Stoic position in this matter is unnecessary, and the things called gods by the Stoics are properties of nature rather than gods (3, 63: *eos enim qui di appellantur rerum naturas esse non figuras deorum*). Finally, he goes back to Fortuna, using the same argument about vices that I have discussed with regard to *De legibus*. Cotta explains that it is because of this Stoic view that even things that are dangerous and negative were called gods and received cults, such as Febris ('fever') on the Palatine, Orbona ('bereavement') near the temple of the Lares, and Mala Fortuna on the Esquiline. The argument of *De legibus* (vices should not be worshipped) is here developed further in its consequences. If Fortuna can be bad luck, and if she is so strongly associated with accident (*temeritas*, again), she is unworthy to be called a goddess, and, as a consequence, no conceptual deity is really divine. This argument is also taken to have repercussions on the nature of gods in general.

There is no doubt that the arguments formulated by Cicero here owe much to Greek philosophy, but looking at this passage in terms of Hellenization of Fortuna means missing the point and underestimating the novelty of the position that Cicero is expressing. Increasingly in the late 50s, and then with the civil war and the victory of Caesar, Cicero had become a man who saw his personal political position and his political ideas fall into disgrace, and the death of his daughter Tullia added to that political crisis a personal dimension. The presence of Orbona ('bereavement') alongside Mala Fortuna and Febris in Cotta's list of negative qualities points at a personal

³³ On Cicero and Stoic etymologies, see Dyck 2003b. On the passage above, see Pease 1955–8, II, 1133–5.

attribution of meanings by the grieving father Cicero, haunted by bereavement because bad luck and illness had deprived him of his beloved daughter.³⁴ Whereas the Marcus character in *De legibus* saved the divinity of Fortuna by treating good and bad Fortunae as separate entities, Cotta's condemnation of Fortuna is without appeal. In this case the attribution of a negative meaning to Fortuna will question the permeable boundaries between deities and concept so hard as to deny her divine status, but, at the same time, the argument could not have been formulated if Fortuna were not a conceptual goddess. In other words, (re)moving the boundary between concept and deity is one of the ways in which meanings are attributed to Fortuna in a certain text. Another reason why the argument is here not marginalized in any way must be the intended audience and the genre: *De legibus* and *De natura deorum* were not plays intended for stage performance that might be attended by large parts of the population, but philosophical works addressed to a more restricted audience. However, this blatant denial of the divinity of Fortuna is still significant, and it represents an example of semantic struggle over what the Civil War must have transformed into a controversial goddess.

As the first extant criticism of the divinity of Fortuna comes from a stage performance, so does the last for the period covered by this work. It comes from the collection of *sententiae* of Publilius Syrus, the most famous Roman mime writer after Decimus Laberius, whom he defeated in a famous improvising competition in 46 BC during the *ludi victoriae Caesaris*, which also represented Publilius' debut on the Roman scene.³⁵ The *sententiae* are a collection of witticisms probably extrapolated from Publilius' plays, deprived of their narrative contexts, and they are frequently connected with virtues or qualities.³⁶ How and when the collection came to be, and whether or not all the verses can be attributed to Publilius is largely an open—and unsolvable—problem.³⁷ Fortuna appears in twenty-five of these sentences.³⁸ She is regularly characterized as unreliable and unstable (F 3: *Fortunam citius reperias quam retineas*; L 4: *Levis est*

³⁴ Tullia died in childbirth (Plut., *Cic.* 41, 7).

³⁵ On the competition, see Panayotakis 2009, 50–6.

³⁶ A short discussion of Publilius under this point of view is Clark 2007, 222–3.

³⁷ See Panayotakis 2014.

³⁸ The full list is A 45, E 7, F 2, 3, 6, 8, 18, 24, 26, H 14, 16, L 4, 8, M 7, 12, 44, N 8, 35, P 47, Q 50, R 3, S 6, 14, 29, V 12. For an extensive discussion, see Giannotti 1967, 387–94, although Giannotti tended to take for granted that the *sententiae* must be the

fortuna: cito reposcit quod dedit), cruel (F 8: *Fortuna nimium quem fouet stultum facit*; F 18: *Fortuna obesse nulli contenta est semel*), opposing human plans (H 14: *Homo semper aliud, fortuna aliud cogitat*). As a consequence of her unstable nature, she will eventually bring pain after having brought joy.³⁹ Although attributing negative meanings to *fortuna* was a commonplace in early Roman drama, the uncommon thing is that Publilius denied the status of Fortuna as a deity very explicitly, claiming that 'Fortuna was made a goddess by the complains of mankind' (E 7: *Ex hominum questu facta fortuna est dea*). As in Cotta's argument, the negative meanings attributed to *fortuna* implied a denial of the existence of the goddess Fortuna. The main problem concerning the interpretation of this sentence is the complete lack of context, and the uncertainties surrounding the composition of this collection of *sententiae*. Roman mime plays were a genre usually characterized by everyday life situations and humble characters, in which satire was particularly prominent.⁴⁰ Witticisms would refer to certain dramatic situations, but also to famous events and individuals.⁴¹ This implies that without knowing the plot of the plays, what character uttered the sentences, and where and when the plays were performed, we are unable to say much about them. Our ignorance of the context implies that we cannot know whether Publilius employed any strategies to marginalize the *sententia* questioning the deity of Fortuna, as Plautus and Pacuvius did before him. One of the characteristics of Roman mimes was the ability to make satire of everything, including gods and mythological stories, philosophical schools, and, of course, political leaders.⁴² The subliterate status of mimes implied that mime writers could get away with things a traditional playwright was not expected to say.⁴³ It is possible, then, that Publilius might have expressed his denial of the divinity of Fortuna as it is, without any marginalization and qualification, and this makes this verse a unique occurrence in Republican Latin theatre.

The discussion above has shown that the negative meanings attributed to the concept of *fortuna* were also attributed to the goddess early on. These negative meanings originated reflections on the

expression of a consistent system of ideas expressing Syrus's view of the world rather than of his literary creativity and rhetorical skills.

³⁹ F 24, H 16, P 47, Q 50.

⁴⁰ Panayotakis 2009, 1–32.

⁴¹ For an example concerning Laberius and Caesar, see Macr., *Sat.* 2, 7, 4–5.

⁴² Panayotakis 2009, 11 n. 20.

⁴³ Panayotakis 2009, 13–14.

morality of the goddess Fortuna, with potential for denying her divine status, a potential which was exploited in different ways by different authors. We have seen in Plautus and Pacuvius a tendency to somehow marginalize the reflections on the negative meanings of Fortuna, attributing them to restricted circles. This does not seem to happen with later evidence, although one has to say that the most interesting discussions are in Cicero's philosophical works, which *are* indeed addressed to a quite restricted audience. Some of the positions expressed in *De natura deorum* are extremely innovative in the way in which the arguments against a negative Fortuna are constructed as associated with deeply personal meanings attributed by the grieving father and troubled statesman Cicero. The denial of the divinity of Fortuna attributed to the popular mime writer Publilius Syrus, whose context is unknown, shows that the argument could also be presented to a broader public. This, together with the reluctance to clearly qualify Fortuna as a goddess that we have encountered in the Caesarean corpus, presents a picture of increasing criticism towards the goddess Fortuna and her capacity to attract negative meanings throughout the Republican period.

The tendency of criticizing Fortuna because of her recklessness, however, does not depend on an increasing Hellenization of the goddess but to a series of definitely different sociopolitical contexts in which the criticism was formulated. It is a strong possibility that the association between Roman imperialism and fortune which developed in the second century BC discouraged Roman authors from expressing criticism of Fortuna explicitly. This seems to have changed in the 50s and the 40s of the first century BC, for obvious reasons: if Fortuna was involved in the creation of the Mediterranean supremacy of Rome, on which side was she supposed to be during the turbulent years of the civil wars? Alongside other factors considered in a previous chapter, such as the traditional connection between Fortuna and plebeians, this might give the intellectual context for Caesar's refusal to call Fortuna a goddess.⁴⁴ The so-called first triumvirate and the civil war may be considered one of these moments of crisis in which concepts can be radically re-discussed and challenged, in what is one of the clearer examples of semantic struggle we have encountered. This caused a lasting semantic shift which interested the concept of fortune but also the deity.

⁴⁴ Ch.5.

These general factors can determine broad tendencies, but one must still consider the important role played by individual choices and circumstances in the attribution of meanings to Fortuna. One can think of the description of Mala Fortuna and Orbona as negative qualities written by Cicero shortly after the death of his beloved daughter: this shows that the criticism of the goddess Fortuna based on her connection with bad luck could be made for closely personal reasons. In the case of Plautus, Pacuvius, and Publilius Syrus, for whom we have only sketchy biographical information, this personal aspect of the attribution of meanings is, however, impossible to determine. The ability of the goddess Fortuna to attract negative meanings creates the potential to question her divine status, exploiting the fluid boundaries between concept and deity: negotiating these boundaries is part of the process of attribution of meanings. Cicero's most radical arguments will be rekindled and expanded by others in the Imperial period, and they will enjoy great popularity in early Christian literature.⁴⁵ This symbiosis and ambiguity between goddess and concept will eventually be the cause of the survival of Fortuna in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance.

⁴⁵ Plin., *NH* 2, 22; Arnob., *nat.* 4; Aug., *civ. dei* 4.

Conclusions

Fragmentation and Unity

Koselleck once wrote: ‘The sources for studying written language are almost inexhaustible. How should the language used in these sources be studied? There are as many methods for providing well-documented answers as there are modes of posing questions about language.’¹ There are likewise many possible ways of posing questions and providing answers about ancient deities, and they can all provide plausible and well-documented answers. This study of the goddess Fortuna, centred on concept and meanings, has led to a number of original conclusions on the specific points analysed and discussed in the chapters above, and hopefully to a better understanding of this goddess, the historical contexts in which she was worshipped, and her relationship with the concept of chance and good fortune and its multifarious meanings. The ambition of this book has been to experiment with new approaches to the study of Greek and Roman deities. In these final remarks my aim is to develop the arguments and consider the significance and the limitations of a conceptual approach to Greek and Roman deities.

Fortuna has emerged as characterized by a wonderful and bewildering semantic multiplicity—to the extent that I have occasionally used the plural *Fortunae*. Fortuna meant extremely different things to an impressive variety of different people, and the very same people could attach different meanings to the goddess, in different contexts or even in the same circumstances. This variety eludes a systematizing approach, which I have not attempted.

¹ Koselleck 1996, 59.

I have been more interested in the strategies employed to attach new meanings to Fortuna. Many of these strategies are familiar to anyone interested in ancient religions, e.g. the attribution of an epithet can attach a certain meaning to the goddess. One can think of Fortuna Muliebris or Fortuna Equestris as examples of this strategy.² However, this book has also shown how epithets cannot be tied to a single meaning. Fortuna Equestris is a good example. When Q. Fulvius Flaccus vowed the temple of the new goddess in 180 BC, the meaning of the epithet *equestris* was probably attached to the equites as the upper class of the Roman census, and to the cavalry as a military unit. But when Roman *equites* became separate from the senators, the new representatives of the group still made claims about the goddess, by offering gifts to her in the temple at Antium in AD 22. It is very clear in this case that changes in social realities have a direct relationship to changes in the meanings attributed to the corresponding conceptual deity Fortuna Equestris. In other cases, there is less clarity as to the specific meaning of the epithet. Fortuna Muliebris is such a case: we know of the organization of the temple from a description by Dionysius of Halicarnassus, which is probably reliable with regard to how the cult was organized in the late Republican or the Augustan period. We have seen that the temple was run with a rather complicated arrangement by an association (*collegium*) of matrons who elected a priestess, under the supervision of the pontiffs, and a certain category of matrons would honour a statue of the goddess. Whereas the specific meanings attached to the concept of womanhood related to Fortuna Muliebris are difficult to single out, it is clear that this complex organization corresponds to a concept of womanhood endowed with multiple meanings.

A second strategy familiar to students of ancient gods is giving a certain meaning to Fortuna by associating or opposing her to another goddess or god—the one most typical of structuralism. In most cases, this strategy is employed in connection with cult or rituals. I have discussed several examples related to Italian towns. At Capua in 110 BC a college of *magistri* was connected with Spes, Fides, and Fortuna.³ In this case, the association with two other conceptual deities, ‘hope’ and ‘good faith’, testifies to an overwhelmingly positive meaning for Fortuna, which seems to be especially projected to the future by the

² Fortuna Muliebris is treated in ch.3 and ch.5; Fortuna Equestris in ch.4.

³ Ch.2.

presence of Spes. I have discussed an example from the late first century BC *municipium* of Tifernum, where Fortuna is offered a gift alongside the Lares, and the Genius of the local senate, by a public slave. This connection with the Lares and the Genius of the local senate gives a very strong local meaning to Fortuna, and a specific relationship with local administration. At Praeneste, Fortuna seems to have been strongly connected with Jupiter, but this could connote opposite meanings, with Fortuna at times mother or daughter of Jupiter, depending on contexts and circumstances.⁴ The connection with Mater Matuta at the Forum Boarium seems to point at the attribution of meanings connected with motherhood, but regrettably we know precious little of this temple of Fortuna.⁵

Other strategies to attach meanings to Fortuna, however, are more familiar to students of conceptual history. This shows precisely the rich potential of conceptual deities to be studied with interdisciplinary methodologies, as they can be approached at different levels as deities or concepts. One of these strategies is semantic struggle. Different groups of people attach conflicting meanings to the goddess because they propose different semantics of the concept. The earliest documented example is the controversy surrounding the aborted consultation of the oracle of Fortuna Primigenia at Praeneste by the Roman consul Q. Lutatius Cerco in 241 BC.⁶ By controversially conferring the status of *auspicia* to the oracle of Fortuna Primigenia, a group of senators have deliberately prevented the consul from consulting the lots. This strategy comes in a moment of crisis, at the end of a war with the Carthaginians which lasted more than two decades. Although it was probably prompted by immediate political circumstances, it is certainly the first and the last time that we hear of a Roman official consulting the oracle at Praeneste in the Republican period—whereas there was apparently no such issue regarding other oracles, like Delphi.

But the clearest example of semantic struggle concerns the most political of fortunes, Fortuna Publica.⁷ As all Republican temples of Fortuna at Rome were founded by plebeians, I have argued that the circumstances for the creation of this goddess might have been connected with a sociopolitical context close to the Lex Hortensia of 287 BC: as plebiscites became laws, Fortuna became public. The Roman

⁴ Ch.1.⁵ Ch.3.⁶ Ch.1.⁷ Ch.4, ch.5, and ch.7.

conquest of the East, however, helped create new meanings for Fortuna Publica. We know from Polybius that there must have been a debate on the fortune of the Romans, and whether or not the conquest of the empire was due to *tyche*. The Romans themselves engaged in this debate, and the translatability of Fortuna with Tyche helped to associate Fortuna Publica Populi Romani and empire, as we find in later documents, such as Cicero's *Pro lege Manilia*, and, outside the chronological remits of this book, in Plutarch's essay *On the Fortune of the Romans*. This association between Fortuna and empire was probably also one of the reasons why in early Latin literature negative meanings are connected with the goddess Fortuna only marginally: if she helped build the empire, questioning her benevolence would have been undesirable. This seems to change with the Civil War of 49 BC. While Pompey probably appealed to Fortuna Publica, Caesar seems to be reluctant to call *fortuna* a goddess, although luck plays an important role in his writings. The war was deemed to make Fortuna controversial: if the empire was a gift of fortune, on whose side was she during the conflict? This probably opened up the potential for questioning her divine status, as Cicero and Publilius Syrus did in different contexts and circumstances.

A strategy frequently employed in literary sources is associating Fortuna with other concepts in order to give different meanings to her. Tertullian and Augustine both associate Fortuna Barbata with Iuventas, 'youth', but whereas for Tertullian the deities are in opposition (i.e. Iuventas is connected with young boys, Fortuna Barbata with grown men), for Augustine they are complementary (i.e. the powers of Fortuna Barbata and Iuventas both start during the years of 'youth'), thus giving to Fortuna Barbata—a goddess they probably did not know very much about—different meanings.⁸ Connecting Fortuna with *opportunitas*, 'opportunity', Plautus gives a totally different meaning to the goddess than Pacuvius—and, occasionally, Cicero—who associated or opposed her with *temeritas*, 'accident'. *Temeritas*, in particular, seems to be in a paradiastolic relationship with Fortuna: accident is the vice corresponding to the virtue of good fortune.⁹ These examples show the importance of rhetoric to question and manipulate the meanings attributed to Fortuna in literary sources. We can see that this strategy is similar to the one used in cultic

⁸ Ch.5.

⁹ Ch.7. For *paradiastole*, see the Introduction.

contexts associating Fortuna with different gods and goddesses. This analogy shows that similar strategies could be used in radically different contexts in the name of the conceptual aspect of deities, placed as they were at the crossroads between language, social realities, and religion.

Significant threads of unity have emerged to guide us through this fragmentation, and, in the city from which we have the greatest amount of textual and contextual evidence—Rome—I have pointed them out with clarity. From the archaic period, there seems to be a strong association between temples of Fortuna and liminal places, such as the river port of the Forum Boarium and the borders of the Roman territory. We have found this connection in many other Italian cities. A second, and very significant, element of unity is the strong plebeian characterization of the temples of Fortuna in the Republican period—all the temples were vowed or dedicated by plebeian magistrates, and this can hardly be a coincidence. I have argued that this connection might have been created when the tradition was established claiming that the (re)introduction of the consulship in 367 BC was inspired by a constitution written by King Servius Tullius. I have also argued that this is probably one of the reasons why patrician late Republican leaders like Sulla and Caesar did not wish to claim too direct a relationship with the goddess Fortuna. I have argued that a further reason for this reluctance was the ambiguous moral status of the powers of Fortuna during the Civil War.

Studying the relationship between Fortuna and Tyche as a relationship of translation and translatability rather than of assimilation and Hellenization has been extremely beneficial to this monograph, as it has allowed us to avoid a top-down approach to the evidence.¹⁰ Fortuna and Tyche were established as mutual translations early on, on the basis of their shared association with good luck, salvation and chance. Once firmly established, this relationship of translatability has been used both ways—for example, we have seen how an early Latin inscription from Messapia might be interpreted as referring to a cult of Tyche attested in the area, and how Tyche at Itanos assumed the epithet *Protogeneia* under the influence of Praeneste. In these translations, individual initiative probably played an important role,

¹⁰ Ch.6.

but this initiative had also to relate to established mutual translations of Greek and Roman gods—in other words, once a relationship of translatability was firmly established, there was limited room for innovation. Translatability seems to be a movement towards unity rather than multiplicity, as it shows the capacity of seeing a mutual relationship between deities from different linguistic areas, a relationship that, in some contexts in which bilingualism is widely practised, could become outright identification. Translatability also implies the ability to see a single goddess Fortuna beyond local differences. Fragmentation was an important characteristic of Fortuna, as of all gods and goddesses, but there is a degree of unity.

The attempt to find unity in the multiple meanings of Fortuna must start from the linguistic nature of concepts. In the pages above, Fortuna has emerged as the centre of intersection of different spheres: she is, on the one hand, associated with the reality of the social contexts in which she is being used; on the other hand, this reality is expressed in terms of categories provided by language.¹¹ It is precisely this double existence of Fortuna as expression of social realities and as their linguistic representation which allows us to trace the unifying threads. Different individuals might have given separate or even opposing meanings to Fortuna, but in order to attach these meanings to the goddess they had to relate to existing linguistic conventions and uses. Potentially, there could be more meanings attached to Fortuna than the worshippers of the goddess, or even the speakers of Latin language, but in practice each new meaning had to relate to existing usage, thus limiting the possibilities of innovation. One example is the reluctance of Sulla and Caesar to directly claim a relationship with Fortuna, which might depend in part on the goddess's traditional connection with plebeian aristocrats.

In the Introduction, I had identified two different ways in which I expected a conceptual approach to be useful to the study of polytheism. This monograph has shown that both can be useful. What I called the micro level—the study of concepts through careful readings of specific documents—has been particularly useful for the late Republican period, when we have a greater wealth of contemporary documents that allow us a much greater appreciation of the nuances of meanings given by different agents to Fortuna, as shown in

¹¹ On this characteristic of concepts, see Koselleck 1996, 61.

chapters 6 and 8. This micro level has been less useful for contexts with scarce contemporary evidence. This is true for most of the Italian evidence, which is mostly epigraphic, and frequently limited in quantity. For Rome in the archaic period we find similar challenges, in some ways aggravated by the fact that the relevant literary sources are much later than the events they describe, and their understanding of concepts is naturally anachronistic. There are ways to partially circumvent these challenges using contextual information that refer to the extratextual resources belonging to the deity: from a later text we can know who—for example—vowed a temple to Fortuna, and which epithet was given to the goddess, and the archaeological or topographical evidence of a temple or of an epigraphic document can provide further information allowing us to infer meanings attributed to the goddess in that specific context. These elements, however, represent limits to the usefulness of a conceptual approach to polytheism at a micro level.

If one takes into account what I called the macro level—which is how the relationship between gods and concepts can help give a meaningful account of the multiplicity and variety of ancient gods and goddesses—I think that one can consider the attempt of the present monograph successful. Taking the varying and conflicting meanings associated with a deity as necessary to semantic change and his or her continuous relevance has provided an invaluable model to deal with inconsistencies without confining deities to narrow remits. At the same time, the conceptual model allows an interpretation of the deity as the expression of a sociopolitical context in which claims were made on Fortuna, and these varying utterances had to relate to pre-existing meanings attributed to the deity. Structuralist approaches have undeniable virtues, and there is little doubt that relationships of gods and goddesses with each other are an important way of making sense of them. In this book I have made the argument for a conceptual approach to polytheism, but much more research remains to be done, starting from testing the approach with deities who are not named after concepts, and exploring the most commonly used tropes in the relationship between polytheism and language. I hope that the present contribution will open up debates and perspective for further research.

The variety and complexity of Fortuna already in the archaic period, at Rome and Praeneste in particular, show that *fortuna* must have been already established as the main concept associated with good luck and

chance, certainly before the attestation of our earliest evidence for the cult of the goddess. The concept of *fortuna* can encompass a variety of meanings, and can be employed in a number of contexts similar to those in which the goddess Fortuna can be evoked. Residing in a place in which language, religion, and social realities share a border—perhaps the palace in which Machiavelli had her reside—Fortuna can be approached and understood only by embracing and exploiting her multifarious meanings.

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